A SCRIPTURE MANUAL

Directed to the Interpretation of Biblical Revelation

BY THE
REV. JOHN-MARY SIMON, O.S.M.

VOLUME II

General Introduction to the New Testament
and
Special Introductions to Its Constituent Books

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Reverend dear Father Simon:

The second volume of your work entitled "A Scripture Manual" has been duly revised and approved "cum laude" by the Very Rev. J. Dourche, of our Order, a theologian and a Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office.

It therefore affords me great pleasure to grant permission for its publication as I am confident that it will prove both interesting and instructive to all lovers of Biblical Study.

Yours fraternally in Christ,
AUSTIN MOORE, O.S.M.
Prior General

San Marcello al Corso, Rome.
January 28, 1928

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MARIÆ
SALVTI INFIRMORVM

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Bought and sold full traitorously
And to a pillar bound,
The Jews beat Him full piteously
And gave Him many a wound!

To see the Maiden weep her Son's Passion,
Filled my heart deep with full great compassion.

Now, Mary mild, pray thou for us
And bring us all to bliss,
That we may be in joy with thee
Where He, thy sweet Son, is!

Balliol MS. Modern English by M. G. Segar.

FOREWORD

To this New Testament volume its writer would apply the words of St. Paul : "Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect . . . but I follow after. . . ." (Phil. 3 : 12). This is true also in the sense that the work is largely indebted to the excellent technical studies of special phases and individual Books of the New Testament which in recent years have been issued by European and American scripturists. Indeed, in this matter one may not "forget the things that are behind," even whilst earnestly "stretching forth to those that are before" (Phil. 3 : 13). For, of a truth, "there were giants upon the earth in those days" (Gen. 6 : 4), namely, the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers whose homilies and commentaries embody historical and especially exegetic information regarding the Sacred Writings that could not be discovered elsewhere now. The best moderns, similarly, starting from and availing themselves of the information bequeathed by the ancients, have magnificently added thereto their contributions of archeological and text-critical science, as Solomon superadded to the treasures his father David had gathered for the building of the Temple.

In this connection it is well to remember that in the field of Scripture knowledge, as in that of other sciences, there yet remain many unsolved questions, and are found also many dubious answers, or at least answers which can claim only a theoretical certainty. If, in the latter cases particularly, it is found that here one view has been amplified and stressed rather than another, the cause has been simply that such a view appeared more reasonable to this writer. There is no restriction on the teacher's or student's right to prefer the theory rejected, or any other one that may be legitimately supportable. Indeed, it is rather expected that in lecture-hall presentation the opposed view will be given fuller development than is generally given here. A case in point will probably be the theory herein proposed in regard to the date of Galatians and certain Jerusalem visits in the life of St. Paul. These are moot questions. But it may be profitable even to opposed views to present for the nonce a lengthier exposition of theories hitherto held by but a minority of scripturists. After all, "in via Dei alius sic, alius sic, ibat."

As in the earlier Old Testament volume, so in this one also the tendency has been, not so much to emphasize barren critical investigation of the letter of the New Testament, as to lead towards fruitful exegetic development of the divinely inspired meanings and lessons latent beneath the text. For, "the letter [alone] indeed killeth, but the spirit quickeneth" (II Cor. 3 : 6). Hence, contrary to custom in works of Scripture introduction, there have been inserted sample exegetic studies, so that the reader may note the practical application of the rules of biblical interpretation and be incited by these examples to continue his scriptural studies in that higher plane. He is to realize that he should not be content to remain standing on the doorstep of Scripture introduction, but that he is to step forward into the very Temple of Holy Writ's sentences and sense. Study about the Bible has little value, if it lead not to study of the Bible. And even then "all those words" are of small profit when merely scanned by the intellect, unless, in imitation of Mary, they be likewise "pondered in the heart" (Luke 2 : 19).

THE AUTHOR.

BETHLEHEM PRIORY,
BELEN, NEW MEXICO,
Feast of the Annunciation, 1928.

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A SCRIPTURE MANUAL

FIRST PART

THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A WHOLE

Si quidquam est quod in hac vita sapientem virum teneat, et inter pressuras et turbines mundi æquo animo manere persuadeat, id esse vel primum reor meditationem et scientiam Scripturarum.

St. Jerome, in Præf. in Ep. ad Eph.

A BIBLE MANUSCRIPT

A slayer severe / struck out my life,
Deprived me of power. / He plunged me
Deep in drear water, / dried me again.
In the sun he set me / where I straightway lost
The hairs I had. / Then the hard edge
Of the keen knife cut me, / cleansed me of stain.
Then fingers folded me. / The fleet bird's plume
With speeding drops / spread speaking signs
Over the swart surface. . . .
With protecting boards
Then a crafty one covered me, / enclosed me with hide,
With gold made me gorgeous. / Hence I glad and rejoice
At the smith's work wrought / with wondrous adornments.
Now may these rich trappings, / and the red dye's tracings,
And all works of wisdom / spread wide the fame
Of the Sovereign of nations! / Read me not as a penance!

Old English Riddle of Eighth Century.
Modern Version by Sister M. Madeleva, C.S.C.

FIRST PART

THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A WHOLE

PROLEGOMENA

1. Old and New Testament Compared.—In passing from the Old Testament to the New, a reflective reader of God's inspired written word is naturally induced to make comparisons between the two groups of sacred writings. And between the two there are indeed traceable rather obvious *similarities* and likewise *contrasts,* based upon the specific functions of the respective Testaments in the divine world-economy. A recognition of these broad fundamental principles underlying each Testament makes for a better practical evaluation of their respective contents, while at the same time it resolves at the very outset several difficulties that might otherwise later arise.

2. Similarities Between Old and New.—In their broad outlines of both content and arrangement there are found to be many similarities between the Old Testament and the New. Thus, as the *Thora* or Pentateuch—the Mosaic Code—is the nucleus and starting point of the Old Testament writings, and without it all the rest would be meaningless,[1] so do the Gospels occupy a parallel position in the New Testament. As the *Thora* opens with the beginnings of both the natural and supernatural orders, and traces their developments and vicissitudes in chosen persons and a Chosen People to the accompaniment of revelation, miracles, suffering, and death,[2] and

[1] This is a point hardly sufficiently reckoned with by those imaginative hypercritics who would place the definitive compilation of the *Thora* not earlier than the time of King Josias, 621 B.C., in connection with the incident of IV Kings 22: 8 *ss.*

[2] Be it recalled that neither Moses nor most of those whom he had led out of Egypt ever entered into the Promised Land, but died during

to the threshold of the Promised Land, so the Gospels similarly, but more concisely and on a higher plane, delineate the development of the re-created or saved world in the Messias' birth, childhood, teaching, wonder-working, as well as in His dreary Passion and Death, to the threshold of Heaven, the true supernatural Promised Land, with the Ascension. Both the *Thora* and the Gospels lay down basic facts and principles of the supernatural order—the former broadly and almost crudely, elementarily, with a dominant note of fear, and the latter more definitely, perfectly, with the dominant note of love.

Next, as the historical Books of the Old Testament show forth the concrete actualization of the *Thora's* principles in the Hebrew people in their century-long oscillations towards and away from harmonization of life with these ideals, together with the external and internal factors influencing such movements—so in the New Testament is found the Book of Acts, which records the earliest practical application of the Gospel principles as these were actualized from theoretic preaching, not in the physical Jews alone, but also amongst all the world-scattered peoples who were likewise embraced under the ancient promises to Abraham.[3] And as the poetical and sapiential Books of the Old Testament give the personal, subjective reactions of men to the Law and other revelations of the *Thora,* so the Epistles of the New Testament largely reflect similar reactions. The exhortatory sections of the prophetical Books may likewise be paralleled by large portions of the Epistles. But, as the Prophets in their own specific function bewail shortcomings and foretell future

the forty years' wandering in the Wilderness (Deut. 32: 49, 52; Ps. 94: 11: "I have sworn in My wrath: 'They shall not enter into My rest!' "). Note also St. Paul's exposition of Ps. 94 in Heb. 3: 7—4: 11. Incidentally there it may be seen that the Apostle, under inspiration, interprets the Seventh Day (of Gen. 2: 2) as a final period of perfection, beginning with the Judgment (Particular, for each human individually; General, for the whole world). This is of suggestive interest for the interpretation of the previous six hexaëmeronic "Days."

[3] "For, it is not he is a Jew who is so outwardly; nor is that [supernatural, genuine] circumcision which is outwardly in the flesh. But *he* is a Jew that is one inwardly—and the circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter" (Rom. 2: 28–29).

eventualities (especially the consummation or perfectioning of the *Thora's* system in the advent of the Messias), so does the Apocalypse in vision and *væ* sketch the future worldwide movements and national catastrophes flowing from the respective acceptance or rejection of the Gospel's system, culminating in the terrific Second Advent of Christ.

Of course, these similarities traced between the Old Testament and the New are not to be confused with conscious or unconscious imitations of Old Testament writers in style and language, which are to be found at times in the New Testament. The similarities noted might indeed be drawn out to finer detail, but are more safely followed along broad lines only; they have highest visibility when one looks at the divine world-plan in its great, all-embracing, main features alone.

3. Contrasts Between Old and New.—If the parallels above drawn between the Old Testament and the New are notable, their mutual contrasts are even better marked. The Old Testament stands related to the New as dawn to daylight, as imperfection to perfection. It is characteristic of the Old Testament that it is preparatory, inchoative, only initiating men (chiefly through a single representative nation) to harmony with the divine world-plan. It does not actually accomplish perfect union, reconciliation, or harmony with God. Even those men who best realized in their lives the Old Testament ideals, were at death admitted, not to the intimate ecstasies of the Beatific Vision, but only to the dim regions of *šeol,* or the Netherworld.

In the Old Testament cycles men's position before God is largely that of children or minors before an adult. Hence also the divine dealings with humanity are outstandingly corrective, disciplinary, inhibitive, distant, and rarely unbend to allow filial and paternal familiarities. St. Paul, deep student of the Ancient Dispensation, has emphasized this Old Testament characteristic most graphically: "As long as an heir is a child [minor], he differeth nothing from a slave, although he be [destined to become later] lord of all; but he is under tutors and governors until the time appointed by his father. So we also, when we were children [especially the Jews, under

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the Ancient Dispensation], were serving under the elements of the world" (= bound to the learning of the elementary, "primer," principles of the world-plan and human conduct: Gal. 4:1–3).

But in the New Testament the case is far different. Mankind is invited to treat with God as it were on a plane of equality. The primal ambition to "be as gods" (Gen. 3:5) is, in its only feasible manner, realized. "I will not now call you servants—for the servant knoweth not what his lord doth [= does not understand the plan-reasons behind his master's commands, but has to obey blindly]," said Christ to His disciples towards the close of His life-work of instructing them, "but I have called you friends" (John 15:15). For, mankind is to be admitted to the innermost counsels of God, and no longer to be kept groping in the dark of His promises: "because all things whatsoever I have heard from the Father, I have made known to you." For this very purpose, to use St. Paul's words again in the continuation of his argument, "when the fulness of time was come, God sent His Son . . . that He might buy free of slavery [technical significance of ἀγοράζω] them who were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. . . . Therefore now he [= mankind] is not a servant but a son" (Gal. 4:4–7). Consequently, in the New Testament mankind is represented as having outgrown its minority before God. The external observance of ceremonial and ritual precepts, by which as for children the στοιχεῖα (*elementa*, the "a-b-c's") of world-understanding and life conduct had formerly been inculcated, is now minimized. From the former primary, childish, pedagogical precepts men have been freed "by the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free" (Gal. 4:31). As father and grown-up son, God and man are henceforth to deal with each other. Nay, more; the completion of the union of humankind with its Creator, planned from the beginning, permits now the exquisite intimacies between God and man which in Christ's own parables, as well as in the language of St. Paul and of the Apocalypse, are expressed by the relationship terminology of bridegroom and bride. The Old Testament was

ordained for a season of promise and hope: the New, for one of sight (at least by faith, "dimly, as in a mirror," I Cor. 13:12) and love and enjoyment, as Christ Himself said: "Can the bridegroom's attendants mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them?" (Matt. 9:15).

4. Old Testament Transitory.—Therefore, also, much of the Old Testament was temporary, transitory in its nature. It might possibly be compared to the elaborate scaffolding used in erecting a great building: upon completion of the edifice, the former is no longer preserved, but removed. For its early essential functions are performed more perfectly, even if not so obviously, by the structure of the building itself. Failure to grasp this temporary character of the Old Law, although it had been pre-indicated,[4] was not the least serious obstacle to the Jews' acceptance of Christ's mission. And the practical application of the truth that the Old Law was indeed abolished, was the gravest difficulty which the early Church had to face.

Hence, also, the disestablishment of the non-essential provisions of the Mosaic Code was made clear by the Messias Himself and by His Apostles. The Master stated that "the Law and the Prophets were until John [the Baptist]; from that time the Kingdom of God is preached" (Luke 16:16; see also Matt. 11:13). For, as St. Paul said, "the priesthood being transferred [from the Aaronic to the Melchisedech line], it is necessary that a transfer also be made of the Law" (Heb. 7:12). "There is indeed a *setting aside* of the former commandment, because of the weakness and unprofitableness

[4] In Ezechiel (14:60–62) after a lengthy reproach to the Jewish people under the figure of Jerusalem, God continues: "And I will establish with thee an everlasting covenant. And thou shalt remember thy ways and be ashamed: when thou receivest thy sisters [the Gentile peoples], thy elder and thy younger. And I will give them to thee for daughters, *but not by thy covenant.*" "Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Juda—*not* according to the covenant which I made with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord: I will give My Law in their bowels, and I will write it in their heart" (Jer. 31:31–33). "And I will make them *another covenant* that shall be everlasting" (Bar. 2:35). Relative to these passages, St. Paul comments: "Now, in saying 'a new,' He hath made the former old. And that which decayeth and groweth old, is near its end" (Heb. 8:13).

thereof. For, *the Law brought nothing to perfection*" (Heb. 7:19).

The Old Testament was primarily adapted to and given for the condition of mankind during its minority before God, whilst it was as yet "under tutors and governors, until the time appointed by the Father" (Gal. 4:1). "Before the faith came," says St. Paul, "we were kept under the Law, shut up. . . . Wherefore, the Law was our pedagogue. . . . But, after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue" (Gal. 3:23–25).[5] When humankind was ready for carrying out its adult rôle, then indeed the Old Testament, with its special primitive and external provisions for the novitiate stage, was to be set aside.

But, was this setting aside to imply entire and absolute disappearance and uselessness of the Old Testament under the New Dispensation? No. As the training imparted by childhood instruction remains effective in the character and conduct of the adult man, and as, after the trials and exercises of the novitiate are over, their spirit must yet be active in the full-fledged religious, so also in the New Testament are to be preserved the basic principles of the Old, only sublimated to even higher and finer perfection in practice. This is indicated in Christ's own words: "Do not think that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill" (Matt. 5:17). Just how this perfection of fulfillment of the Old Law in the New Dispensation would be brought about, Christ instanced in the same Sermon on the Mount:

> You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not kill.
>
> But *I* say to you, that whosoever is [as much as] angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment. . . . And whosoever shall say: "Thou fool!" shall be in danger of hell fire.
>
> You have heard that it was said to them of old: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."
>
> But *I* say to you, that whosoever shall [even as much as] look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.

[5] Note the whole comparison of the characteristic spirits of the Old and the New Testaments elaborated by St. Paul in Gal. 4: 1–7, 22–31.

Again, you have heard that it was said to them of old: "Thou shalt not forswear thyself."

But *I* say to you not to swear at all (Matt. 5:21-44).

The Apostle of the Gentiles, insistent as he was and busy during a great part of his life to prove the abolition of the Mosaic Code, nevertheless strictly conformed to his Master's teaching in this matter: "Do we then destroy the Law through faith? God forbid: but we establish the Law" (Rom. 3:31).

Thus, the Old Testament forms the basis and groundwork for the New. Christ used it continually to establish His Messianic mission.[6] The Apostles in their discourses and epistles wove from the Old Testament pages their most convincing argumentations for the advent of the New Dispensation.

The Old and the New Testaments, then, mutually supplement each other to form the complete Scripture revelation. The New Testament cannot be correctly conceived of as standing alone, for it leans upon the Old. On the other hand, the Old Testament cannot reasonably be considered as divinely intended to close written revelation (according to the Jews' viewpoint). For, its very spirit and letter, being made up of promise and hope, demand completion and fulfillment in another Dispensation. Indeed, from the very fact that God made use of inspired Books (may it be said, so successfully?) in the preparatory, supernatural formation under the ancient temporary Dispensation, one might legitimately conjecture *a priori* that divinely inspired Books would be part of the New Dispensation equipment, whose end is actually to bring men to perfection.

5. The Old Introduces the New Testament.—Right understanding of the respective and relative functions of the two

[6] For example, Luke 14:27: "And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the scriptures the things that were concerning Him." And one of the final finishing touches of *charismata* upon the Apostles, in preparation for their world-mission of spreading the Kingdom of God, was the clarifying of their minds to perceive the apologetic and moral values of the Old Testament: "And He opened their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures" (Luke 24:45).

great groups of Sacred Scripture, whilst it makes clear the preëminent position held by the New Testament, will not disparage the Old, but rather encourage its study and use. It is to be regretted that in late years even those who profess a leaning for biblical reading, or who by their office have to give time thereto, sometimes confine themselves almost exclusively to the New Testament, considering the numerous pages of the Old practically worked-out ground, where perhaps only a few dry-as-dust archeologists may succeed in unearthing a few more golden nuggets. And yet St. Paul pointed out to Timothy that "*every* [Scripture] writing, being divinely inspired, is useful for teaching, reproving, correcting, instructing unto justice" (II Tim. 3:16).

Already in his Anglican days, Newman deprecated the neglect of the Old Testament:[7]

"When we consider the Old Testament as written by divine inspiration, and preserved, beyond the time of its own Dispensation, for us Christians—as acknowledged and delivered over to us by Christ Himself . . . we ought not surely to read any portion of it with indifference, nay, without great and anxious interest. . . . Christ and His Apostles cannot have put the Law and the Prophets into our hands for nothing. I would have this thought weighed more carefully than it commonly is. We profess indeed to revere the Old Testament; yet, for some reason or other, at least one considerable part of it, the historical, is regarded by the mass, even of men who think about religion, as merely historical, as a relation of facts, as antiquities; not in its practical bearings, not in reference to themselves. . . . They consider that the Old Testament concerns them only as far as it made typical one or two of the great Christian doctrines; they do not consider it in its fullness, and in its literal sense, as a collection of deep moral lessons."

The characteristic function of the Old Testament—to prepare man in his childhood ignorance for the perfection of the New Dispensation revelation—suggests one phase of Old Testament applicability to modern needs. First of all, the great abstract principles basic in the supernatural order are

[7] *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* vol. IV, p. 18 (Sermon II). The sermon quoted marvelously exemplifies the fascinating and useful employment of an Old Testament text or incident, Newman here making a study of the Balaam and Balac episode of Num. 22.

far more easily grasped by the average mind (and, above all, by the imaginative child-mind) when they are incarnated in concrete personages and historic incidents. The sacramentalism of the Church, by which a visible, material sign is ever associated with the invisible, spiritual factor, is a wisely practical accommodation to a profound psychologic truth. Hence, the Old Testament, enveloping in simple and interesting historical narrative the primary principles (στοιχεῖα of Gal. 4:3, 9; Col. 2:8, 20; Heb. 5:12) of the supernatural order and their practical consectaries, should be found useful for preparing the rude and crudely ignorant for the fuller vision of the New Testament religion.

Again, before one can and will love a person, one has to respect or, in Scripture language, "fear" him. Otherwise, familiar intimacy will only breed contempt. Now, the Old Testament designedly embodies and expresses a religion of fear, but *initium sapientiæ timor Domini* (Ecclus. 1:16). The inculcation primarily of a wholesome respect for Yahweh, and of a dread of punishment for the transgression of His ordinances, was the proper preparation for the revelation of the fullness—and, Chesterton might add, foolishness[8]—of Divine Love in the New Testament. Otherwise, the carnal-minded Jews, misguided by the baseness of contemporary earthly love, would likely have made a mockery of their God, as did indeed the Gentiles about them with their idols. Similarly, in all ages the rudely ignorant must first be educated under respect and fear, before they can safely be admitted to the familiarities of that "perfect love which casteth out fear" (I John 4:18). Precisely for this educational phase the Old Testament is admirably suited. In sermon and instruction, then, especially when addressed to God's "little ones" of any age, let the Old Testament's stern simplicity be wedded to the sublime paradoxes of perfect love in the New.

[8] "The sensual man perceiveth not these things which are of the Spirit of God; for it is foolishness to him, and he can not understand" (I Cor. 2:14). "For the word of the Cross to them indeed that perish is foolishness" (I Cor. 1:18).

Art. 1: THE NEW TESTAMENT BACKGROUND

6. Historic World Conditions.—The period of world history which forms the background of the personages, deeds, and writings of the New Testament, embraces roughly the first century of the Christian era. Geographically, the same background consists primarily of the little country of Palestine, with its subdivisions of Galilee in the north (abutting to the east on the Lake of Genesareth), the old Samaritan district about Sichem between Galilee and the southern province of Judea, and the latter province with Jerusalem, the capital, as its center. These regions had as their eastern line of demarcation the Lake of Genesareth in the north, which is connected by the Jordan River, running from north to south through the steep-walled Ghôr, with the Dead Sea. East and to the north of these natural water boundaries lay the Perea and the Decapolis (Iturea and Gaulanitis), districts more sparsely inhabited by Jews. To the south lay Idumea. The practically harborless coast of the Mediterranean forms the western boundary of Palestine. After Christ's time, with the spread of the Kingdom of Heaven beyond the homeland of the Jews, most of the civilized world known at that time must be joined to Palestine as the playground of the mighty spiritual forces welling forth from the Upper Room at Jerusalem "down to the plains of the desert" and even "into the sea" (Ez. 47:8). Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, the islands of the Mediterranean, and Italy, the home province of mighty Rome—all these appear in the pages of the New Testament as regions where the Glad Tidings were early announced by the "ambassadors of Christ" (II Cor. 5:20), so that already St. Paul could write, speaking of the Gentiles: "Have they not heard? . . . Yea, verily, 'their sound hath gone forth to all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world' " (Rom. 10:18, citing Ps. 18:5).

The great Old Testament nations—Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia—amongst which the tiny people and land of the Hebrews had so often in times past been tossed about as a

plaything of political fortunes, had long ago disappeared, as repeatedly foretold by the ancient prophets. Greece, as the short-lived empire of Alexander, was already but a memory. Even the various succession states marking the break-up of that empire, particularly those of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, had already been absorbed in the universal hegemony of Rome. The Machabean wars and political rearrangements shortly before Christ's time had removed from the Jews the oppressive tyranny of Antioch. Rome was practically undisputed mistress of the known civilized world, and, subordinate to her eagles, the Hebrew people once again enjoyed for a brief period a quasi-autonomous government. But, before the Messias formally entered upon His mission, the "scepter" (Gen. 49:10), the figment of the ruling power of Juda finally preserved in the Hasmonean dynasty, was definitely removed forever, and the attempt to regain it was soon to be punished with the utter destruction of Jerusalem itself.

7. Religious and Cultural Conditions.—About the time of the Incarnation material culture had reached a very high level in the various peoples clustered about the Mediterranean under the mighty imperial system of Rome. The tone of this culture was distinctly Hellenic. Greek thought, Greek art, Greek literature, and Greek social manners, like the Greek language, had permeated most of the cities of that ancient world. Even into the "tents of Sem" (Gen. 9:27) had Javan, the son of Japhet, begun to penetrate. And all these peoples, with the exception of the Hebrews (who in this matter had never relapsed since the days of the great Captivity), were heathens, idolaters.

But this heathenism was no longer the simple, even if crass, paganism of more ancient times. With the advent of Hellenic philosophy, emanating from Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the world had indeed become *sophisti*cated. Idolatry had become, at least in the cities and amongst the higher classes, largely an empty even if still glorious shell of social and political formalism, without the deep though mistaken sincerity of ancient Egypt, Assyria, or Babylonia. The old

gods and goddesses had become but symbols or rhetorical personifications of powers of nature and of man.

The original polytheistic aberration of mankind had now developed by specialization into a veritable infinity of divinities to satisfy the insatiable human craving for an Infinite Divine. Sky, sea, and land, the home, the field, the forum, were peopled with gods. Lest any should be overlooked, shrines were erected even to anonymous deities: witness the altar "To the Unknown God" at Athens (Acts 17:23).[1] Truly, not only the Athenians, as St. Paul remarked, but most other men also had become δεισιδαιμονεστέροι ("overly given to gods," Acts 17:22). Yet, of genuine religion there was less than ever before in the world's history. For, in the course of ages the primitive revelation inherited by mankind had, outside the Hebrew race, become so diluted and corrupted with superstitions that finally man worshipped anything and everything but God. Originally men had "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things" (Rom. 1:23, see also Wis. 13:1 *ss.*). But now, because they had "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, . . . God gave them up to the desires of their heart unto uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies among themselves . . ." (Rom. 1:25–32). The Apostle's immediately following terrific indictment of the whole civilization of his time summarizes the degradation of morals which had come as the eventual consequence of men's turning from conformity to God's will in order to "become as gods" (Gen. 3:5) in their own fashion. Thus, when the Greeks,

"the wisest men in the world, set out to be natural . . . the most unnatural thing in the world was the very first thing they did. The immediate effect of saluting the sun and the sunny sanity of nature was a perversion spreading like a pestilence. The greatest and even

[1] Such altars were erected to tutelary deities in places—for example, where lightning had struck—to propitiate the *genius loci*. Sometimes they were inscribed "to the God or Goddess". St. Paul in his speech took oratorical advantage of the wording on the altar stone.

the purest philosophers could not apparently avoid this low sort of lunacy. Why? It would seem simple enough for the people whose poets had conceived of Troy, whose sculptors had carved the Venus of Milo, to remain healthy on the point. The truth is that people who worship health cannot remain healthy. . . . Rome rose at the expense of her Greek teachers, largely because she did not entirely consent to be taught these tricks. She had a much more decent domestic tradition; but she ultimately suffered from the same fallacy in her religious tradition, which was necessarily in no small degree the heathen tradition of nature-worship. What was the matter with the whole heathen civilization was that there was nothing for the mass of men in the way of mysticism, except that connected with the mystery of the nameless forces of nature, such as sex and growth and death. In the Roman empire also, long before the end, we find nature-worship inevitably producing things that are against nature. Cases like that of Nero have passed into a proverb, when sadism sat on a throne brazen in broad daylight. . . . What had happened . . . was that the whole world was colored by dangerous and rapidly deteriorating passions; by natural passions becoming unnatural passions (Rom. 1:27).

"It was no metaphor to say that these people needed a new heaven and a new earth; for they had really defiled their own earth, and even their own heaven. How could their case be met by looking at the sky, when erotic legends were scrawled in stars across it? . . .

"Nothing could purge this obsession but a religion that was literally unearthly. . . . Nothing but the stark supernatural stood up for its salvation; if God could not save it, certainly the gods could not."[2]

8. World's Dissatisfaction with Heathenism.—At about the time of the Incarnation mankind was learning its ultimate lesson from paganism in the bitter course of the experience

[2] Chesterton, *St. Francis of Assisi,* pp. 37, 43 (New York City, 1924). The introductory chapter of this book shows plainly the basic error of heathenism, and why at about Christ's time it was beginning to fail utterly, as it was developing its ultimate conclusions. "The short-hand of it is to call it the mistake of nature-worship. It might almost as truly be called the mistake of being natural. The Greeks, the great guides and pioneers of pagan antiquity, started out with the idea of something splendidly obvious and direct; the idea that, if man walked straight on the highroad of reason and nature, he could come to no harm. . . . And the case of the Greeks themselves is alone enough to illustrate the strange but certain fatality that attends upon this fallacy." Chesterton's remarks may be applied, though in lesser degree, also to the various pre-Hellenic heathen cultures. But the Hellenic heathenism was perhaps the least supernatural of them all. And, be it remembered, Hellenism gave the tone to the world of its time—which was precisely the time chosen by God for the planting of the most unearthly religion upon earth.

of "knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3:5). In each successive stage of the world's history men's "eyes were opened" (Gen. 3:5) to recognize more and more clearly the futility of trying to satisfy final human aspiration with any or all earthly things. Mankind of that time could make its own in a world-wide sense the terrific soul-plaint which has ever reëchoed in the life of each individual who has striven to flee the Divine:

"Come then, ye other children, Nature's—share
With me" (said I) "your delicate fellowship." . . .
So it was done:
I in their delicate fellowship was one—
Drew the bolt of Nature's secrecies. . . .

I triumphed and I saddened with all weather,
Heaven and I wept together,
And its sweet tears were salt with mortal mine;
Against the red throb of its sunset-heart
I laid my own to beat,
And share commingling heat.
But not by that, by that, was eased my human smart. . . .
Nature, poor stepdame, cannot slake my drought.

Truly now mankind, after having fled God "down the arches of the years" during all the cycles of centuries since the Fall, along "the labyrinthine ways" of its own mind, was at last realizing the futility of its errant flight, and was ready to pray in the anguish of its disillusionment:

Naked I wait Thy love's uplifted stroke!
My harness piece by piece Thou hast hewn from me,
And smitten me to my knee;
I am defenceless utterly. . . .

In the rash lustihead of my young powers,
I shook the pillaring hours
And pulled my life upon me; grimed with smears
I stand amid the dust o' the mounded years.[3]

The Gentiles especially, as the "prodigal son," after they had "devoured their substance with harlots, living riotously" now were beginning to realize what tyrannical taskmasters were the passions they served, which finally forced them to

[3] From Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven.*

fill "with the husks of swine" (Luke 15:11–32) the void of their hearts ever seeking the Infinite.

That a great change in world conditions was impending seems to have been felt even amongst heathens. Virgil bears witness to this dim sensing of the coming of a new order:[4]

> Ultima cumæi venit iam carminis ætas;
> Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
> Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
> Iam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

A voiceless but deep dissatisfaction was stirring the souls of men. Persons like the treasurer of Queen Candace (Acts 8:27 *ss.*), the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:22 *ss.*), and the prison warden of Philippi (Acts 16:27 *ss.*), were in many places asking themselves unconsciously in their inmost souls: "What must I do that I may be saved?" (Acts 16:30), and were ready to receive an answer from anyone who might present satisfactory credentials of truly divine authority.

Mankind had wandered far from the heights of the heavenly Jerusalem in which it had been placed in Paradise. It had "fallen among robbers," demons and vices, and had been stripped of all its primitive glorious garments of the supernatural order; nay more, its natural powers had been wounded, and it was left lying by the roadside of world-advancement, "half-dead." The Gentile priestly and religious system of paganism had passed by without affording assistance: even the Jewish synagogue, having been ordained exclusively for the Hebrew nation, did not lift up fallen mankind. It was high time indeed that a "good Samaritan" (Luke 10:30–35), an outsider to the world, should come bearing the cleansing sharp wine of true teaching and the healing oil of genuine power of works to restore mankind, so that the human race might once more be set to travel the upward road leading to its supernatural home, which it had left in the original Fall of man.

[4] *Ecloga IV*, lines 4–7. Medieval writers sometimes saw in these lines an extra-biblical reference to the coming of the Messias.

Art. 2: CHRONOLOGY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

9. Uncertainties in Chronology.—Because of conflicting evidence there still remains considerable uncertainty about the exact time of the occurrence of some events within the first century before and that immediately following upon Christ's time. Hence, the years assigned in the accompanying table are in some cases merely approximate (within from one to three years). The synchronisms with events are likewise frequently only probable. As is well known, for the year of Christ's birth chronologists fluctuate between 7 B.C. and 4 B.C.—the exact amount of the error of Dionysius Exiguus, who inaugurated the Christian era (*Anno Domini* or *post Christum natum*) system of dating in 527, never having been determined.[1] Whilst Belser is frequently followed in this table, his theory that Christ's public ministry lasted but one and a half (instead of about three and a half) years, is not shared. The theory that St. Peter was twice at Rome (with an interval of over twenty years) is preferred. That Sts. Peter and Paul were martyred in the same year, is somewhat uncertain.[2] The assignment of dates for the composition of the various New Testament Books is subject to the theories which will be found stated in the introductions to the respective Books.

[1] For a summary of some useful data on early Christian chronology, see Pope, *Aids to the Study of the Bible*, vol. II, pp. 351 *ss.* (London, 1922).

[2] According to Zahn, Harnack and Duchesne, Peter suffered martyrdom in 64 during the Neronian persecution, whilst Paul was not beheaded till 67 or 68.

Events of Sacred History	Year	Events of Secular History
	B.C.	
	65	End of Seleucid Empire, overthrown by Romans; Palestine becomes part of Roman Province of Syria.
Jerusalem captured by Pompey: "Psalms of Solomon" composed.	63	
	58	Julius Cæsar campaigns in Gaul and England, till 50 B.C.
Herod the Great becomes King in Judea, till 4 B.C.	37	
	30	Egypt becomes Roman Province.
	29	Cæsar Augustus becomes Emperor, to rule till A.D. 14.
CHRIST IS BORN AT BETHLEHEM.	3	Publius Quirinius is Governor of Syria, till 2 B.C.
	A.D.	
	14	Tiberius Cæsar becomes Emperor, to rule till 37.
	26	Pontius Pilate governor, till 36.
Christ opens His Messianic Mission at His Baptism in the Jordan.	28–29	Fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar (Luke 3:1).
Christ dies upon the Cross.	32–33	
First Palestinian Persecution; death of St. Stephen.	37	Caligula becomes Emperor, till 41.
Paul becomes a Christian.		Herod Agrippa I, King of Judea, till 44.
Second Palestinian Persecution; James the Greater martyred; Peter imprisoned.	41	Claudius becomes Emperor, to rule till 54.
Matthew's Aramaic Gospel composed in Palestine.		
Apostles separate from Palestine: Peter, delivered from prison, goes to Rome first time.	42	
Mark's Gospel composed at Rome. Peter leaves Rome for Jerusalem.	44	Herod Agrippa I dies.
Paul travels to Jerusalem with Antiochian alms: opposes Peter (?); famine in Palestine.	45	
Paul, Barnabas, and John-Mark on first mission tour.	46	
Paul returns to Antioch: *Galatians* composed (?).	49	
Apostolic Council at Jerusalem.	50	Agrippa II ascends throne.
Second Pauline mission tour. *I and II Thessalonians* composed at Corinth.	52	Claudius' edict bans Jews from Rome in January.

Events of Sacred History	Year	Events of Secular History
	A.D.	
Paul returns to Jerusalem and Antioch. Sets out on third mission tour, over Galatia and Phrygia.	54	Claudius dies: Nero becomes Emperor, to rule till 68.
Paul's sojourn at Ephesus: *I Corinthians* composed. *II Corinthians* from Philippi in Macedonia.	55–57	
Paul winters at Corinth: *Romans* composed (*Galatians* also?); returns to Jerusalem, with alms.	57–58	
Paul arrested at Jerusalem: in prison at Cæsarea about two years.	58	
	60	Felix relieved of procuratorship for Festus.
Paul's sea-trip as prisoner to Rome: two years' light imprisonment at Rome: *Acts* composed, and *Philemon, Ephesians*–Laodiceans, *Colossians, Philippians.*	61	
Paul's trial and acquittal: journey to Spain (?). Peter returns to Rome (?). *Hebrews* composed (?).	63	
Paul to Ephesus; installs Timothy as bishop. *I Timothy* from Macedonia. (Peter martyred at Rome?). Titus made bishop of Crete.	64	Nero burns Rome, July 19–28; Neronian persecution begins.
Paul winters at Nicopolis in Epirus; returns to Rome, where *II Timothy* was composed when he was again imprisoned.	65–66	
(Peter and) Paul martyred at Rome, June 29, 67. Linus as Pope.	67	Romano-Jewish war begins in Palestine.
(Papias is born?)	68	Nero dies: succeeded by Galba, Otho, and Vespasian (69–79).
John's missions in Asia Minor: Polycarp converted (?).	69	Capitol temple at Rome burns.
Temple at Jerusalem destroyed, August 10.	70	
Anencletus becomes Pope.	81	Domitian becomes Emperor.
Clement becomes Pope.	92	
John exiled to Patmos: *Apocalypse* composed.	95	
John returns to Ephesus at age of 90: *John's Gospel* and *I John* composed.	96	Domitian succeeded by Nerva, till 98.
Pope Clement writes his First Epistle to Corinthians.	98	Trajan becomes Emperor, till 117.
John dies at Ephesus: Evaristus Pope: Cerinthus the heretic: Apollonius of Tyana. Alexander Pope in 109.	101	
	110	Pliny's letter to Trajan.
Ignatius writes his Epistles before 116.	116	

Events of Sacred History	Year	Events of Secular History
	A.D.	
Xystus Pope.	119	
Papias Bishop of Hierapolis.		
Telesphorus Pope.	128	
	132	Revolt of Bar-Cochba in Palestine.
Basilides the heretic.	135	
Hyginus Pope. Marcion the heretic.	139	
Pius Pope.	142	The *Pastor Hermæ* written; also *Apology* of Justin Martyr.
Polycarp dies.	155	

Art. 3: THE PHARISEES

10. Origin of Groups.—There is rarely to be found any considerable association of men, united by a common bond of nationality, profession, or purpose, which does not have a divergency regarding manner or method subdividing its members. The divisions generally run along lines of conservatism or liberalism, strictness or laxness, expansion or restriction of control. A two-party distinction is quite normal in any organization.

With the Jews, the record of such party division first becomes definite in Machabean times. And, at the beginning of the Christian era, two groups are found full-fledged and functioning in rivalry with each other in Palestinian Jewry, namely, the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

11. The Pharisees.—In the days of the Machabees, after Alexander's world conquest, when the Hellenistic system of thinking and living began to permeate all the lands about the Mediterranean, the Jews also, especially under the Seleucid rule, had to face the problem of welcoming Hellenism or standing aloof therefrom. Those who favored non-assimilation, who rejected all the works and pomps of the Greeks, were later to crystallize into the Pharisees, so named probably from their insistence on the Deuteronomic principle of *separation* from all Gentile persons and principles (*p*[*h*]*araš* = "to separate, divide"). In contrast to those of the Jews who

relaxed the precepts of the *Thora* to allow of the introduction of many Hellenistic practices,[1] others, under the leadership of the Machabean brothers, insisted more strongly than ever on a rigoristic observance of the Law. Nay, not only the Law itself as given in the *Thora,* but also the meticulous expansions of traditional explanation (later to be recorded in the Talmud), were to be considered of binding observance.

12. Extremes of Legalism.—Thus, the pendulum of Jewish reaction against Hellenism soon swung to the extreme of Phariseeism, of which Christ was later to remark scathingly: "They bind heavy and insupportable burdens and lay them on men's shoulders" (Matt. 23:4). For example, the tithing precept (Lev. 27:30; also Num. 18:12; Deut. 14:22, 27), according to which one-tenth of the product "of the land, whether of grain or of the fruits of trees," was to be offered to God, was extended by the Pharisees even to the spice herbs of the little kitchen garden: "You tithe mint and anise and cummin" (Matt. 23:23). The observance of the Sabbath rest was one of the obsessions of the Pharisees. A beginning of this unreasonable exaggeration may be seen in the account of I Mach. 2:32–41, where certain fanatic Jews refused to fight their persecutors on the Sabbath. But Mathias' common-sense stopped that foolishness. Nevertheless, under Pharisaic ruling a mother might not carry her child across the court on the Sabbath—as that would be doing work—although she might lead it by the hand. There was dispute whether, on the Sabbath, the raisers of fat-tailed sheep might allow their animals to wear the little carts or wheels whereby their enormously large tails were supported; also whether wearing shoes with iron nails therein might not be considered a work of lifting on the Sabbath. The complaint in Luke 6:1–2 (also Mark 2:23–24) was not because Christ's disciples

[1] See account especially of I Machabees: "In those days [under Antiochus the Great] there went out of Israel wicked men . . . saying: 'Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles around about us.' . . . And some of the people determined to do this . . . And they built a *gymnasion* in Jerusalem . . . and they made themselves prepuces, and departed from the Holy Covenant and joined themselves to the heathen" (I Mach. 1:12–16, 45, 55).

plucked ears of grain from the fields through which they were passing (for this was specifically permitted by Deut. 23:25), but because their rubbing the ears in their hands was considered a sort of milling.

Another phase of Pharisaic fanatic narrowness concerned the ritual purifications. "For the Pharisees and all the Jews eat not without often washing their hands, holding the tradition of the ancients. And when they come from the market, unless they be washed they eat not. And many other things there are that have been delivered to them to observe, the washings of cups and of pots, and of brazen vessels and of couches" (Mark 7:3–4). They went so far as to carry their own bread with them on journeys, lest they should have to partake of food which might not have been prepared with scrupulous observance of their *kosher* regulations, or which might have been touched by a Gentile (Matt. 16:6–7; Mark 8:15; Luke 12:1). Whilst they had no scruple in illegally holding Christ's trial at night, yet his Pharisaic accusers would not enter into Pilate's court-room, "that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the Pasch" (John 18:28).

13. Loosening the Law.—Those who bind must also loose, and a multiplicity of laws ever breeds a tendency to evade. Thus, whilst the Pharisees with one hand bound burdens that were not obligatory, with the other they undid real obligations of the *Thora*. Their casuistry invented the scheme whereby a Jew, desirous of traveling on the Sabbath, might on the day preceding deposit some food at the normal distance of a Sabbath day's trip from his home (Exod. 16:29; Acts 1:12), and then on the Sabbath, having arrived at this point, count it as "home" and continue farther another Sabbath-trip distance. But especially in regard to vows was the casuistry of the Pharisees demoralizing, as may be seen from the examples cited by Christ in Matt. 23:16–22, where the word "swear" is most probably to be taken in the sense of "vow." Hypersubtle distinctions were used in order to excuse one from fulfilling a rash vow or oath. Thus, the tract *Nedarim* of the Jerusalem *Gemara* offers an example:

"If one has vowed 'by the Law,' the thing vowed is still permitted, because only the holiness of the Law, which does not imply interdict, is held in view; but if one says 'by the precepts written therein,' the interdict holds, because one has in view the sacrifices recorded there"—which are supposed to be more immediately connected with God.

In these matters, Christ reproached the Pharisees and their associates, the Scribes: "Leaving the commandment of God you hold the tradition of men. . . . You make void the commandment of God that you may keep your own tradition" (Mark 7:8–9). And He instanced the practice whereby, when a son had dedicated his property to God, he was thereby to be considered exempt from having to use it to support his parents (Mark 7:10–12). Thus also, the gentle Hillel's wing of the Pharisaic party interpreted the Mosaic divorce code (Deut. 24:1) so broadly that a man might give his wife the bill of divorce if she scorched his dinner, although the stricter Shammai insisted that unfaithfulness alone was a justifying cause.[2]

14. Popularity of Pharisees.—The Pharisees were the revered and popular party. After all, although exaggerating, they were faithful to the Jewish national spirit. They stood for the principles of the Law, and insisted upon its observance, and battled denationalizing tendencies. Hence also Christ Himself, often as He had to combat Pharisaic narrowness and error, said: "The Scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do" (Matt. 23:2–3). Although He was obliged to add: "But according to their works do ye not—for they say, and do not!"

Moreover, according to Josephus, "the Pharisees are not apt to be severe in punishments";[3] they "live meanly and make no concessions to delicacy. They follow the guidance of reason. . . . They also pay respect to such as are in years. And, though they maintain that all things are done by fate,

[2] It was with this internal dispute of theirs that the Pharisees tried to embarrass Christ in Matt. 19:3, asking: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife *for any* cause?"

[3] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, x, 6.

yet they do not take away the spontaneity of men's actions, for they maintain that it has pleased God to make a combination, and that to the will of fate should be added the human will with its virtue and baseness.''[4] The Pharisees emphasized the power of Divine Providence, where the Sadducees rather stressed man's free-will. Belief in angels and spirits was encouraged by the Pharisees and scoffed at by the Sadducees, who also seem to have denied at least a corporal resurrection (Mark 12:18–23). The resurrection of the dead was a strong point with the Pharisees (Acts 23:6–8).

On many counts, both good and bad, the Pharisaic thought and practice might be compared to that of the ''fundamentalists'' amongst modern Protestants, just as the Sadducees are paralleled by the ''modernists.'' Christ, keeping to the golden mean of true virtue and reasonableness, found himself in opposition to both parties. His opposition to the Pharisees is, however, more apparent in the Gospel accounts, because these were in the majority and formed the popular party. Moreover, their influence, whilst strongest of course in Judea, extended also everywhere in Palestine. And the Synoptic Gospels deal rather with Christ's work outside Judea, in Galilee. The Pharisees fought Christ continually indeed. But whether they alone would have gone so far as to plot and accomplish His death, is not easily said. For, after all, Christ was at one with them on fundamentals.

Art. 4: THE SADDUCEES

15. Name and Origin.—Since the days of Solomon, the high-priestly line ran in the House of Zadoq (Ez. 40:46, 44:15; Par. 16:39, etc.). The Hasmonean prince-priests of Machabean times were of that stock; hence, the party that clung to them came to be called Sadokites or Sadducees. The membership of that party seems to have been largely confined to the wealthy and to the aristocrats, and to have been recruited especially from amongst the higher ranks of the Jerusalem priesthood. Indeed, *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς* (Vulgate: *principes sacerdotum*), ''the high-priestly party,'' seems to have been the

[4] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, i, 3.

term more commonly used by the Evangelists to designate the Sadducees. These constituted the noble and educated class, contrasting strongly with the plebeian Pharisees, who were despised by the former as tinkers and cobblers turned theologians.

16. Sceptic Priesthood.—It may seem paradoxical to claim that "liberalism" and even unbelief had its chief adherents amongst the priestly group in Jewry. But it has been generally in the educated, wealthy, and noble classes that these tendencies are found. Common and ignorant folk are generally more conservative and tenacious of tradition. It would not be surprising to find Hellenism, therefore, being accorded a more welcome reception by the former group. Certain it is that the Hasmonean prince-priests, like Hyrcanus, Aristobolus I, etc., were continually found dickering with the Seleucids and later with the Romans, in order to acquire or retain the high-priestly office.

Rationalism or scepticism seems to have marked the Sadducees in the plane of thought and theology. For them, what was written in the bond of the *Thora* was alone obliging, and the interpretations and additions of Jewish tradition were of no value. Thus, angels and spirits were denied, the Old Testament passages concerning such being probably explained as manifestations of God Himself. At least a bodily resurrection and after-life do not seem to have been admitted. The blessed hope of a glorious after-life, which had grown in intensity amongst the Jews ever since the return from the Babylonian captivity, was not encouraged by the cold, practical and unenthusiastic Sadducees.[1] Being of the wealthy and more comfortable classes, they probably felt little need for a spiritual reward after death. The Sadducees, moreover, emphasized the freedom of the will to such an extent that the effectiveness of Divine Providence was reduced to a minimum. Practically Deists, they would indeed acknowledge God to be in His Heaven, letting the world follow its laws and men their own devices.

[1] See article by J. P. Arendzen in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May, 1925, pp. 486–500.

17. Traces in Literature.—In the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, in chapter 51, is found a lengthy litany of praises which is not in the Greek. It contains also the line: "Give praise to Him (God) who chose the sons of Sadoc to be priests" (Ecclus. 51:12:9). This may have been excised through Pharisaic opposition to anything favoring the Sadducees. In fact, expressions and sentiments of various passages in this book apparently favorable to Sadducean doctrine may have been a factor making for the elimination of Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira from the canon by the great synod of Jabneh (A.D. 90). The apocryphal *Book of Jubilees* or "Little Genesis" (written by a priest in the century preceding Christ) is said to reflect Sadducean teaching. It favors the reigning house of Levitical prince-priests, and aims to introduce the use of a solar calendar instead of the traditional lunar one favored by Pharisees. It divided human history into Jubilee periods of 49 years (and not 50, as in Lev. 25:10–11). The *Document of Jewish Sectaries* of Damascus, discovered by Dr. Schechter in the Cairo *genizah* (1910), is assigned to about A.D. 140.[2] According to its discoverer, this fragment is of Sadducean origin. It mentions particularly the Boëthusians,[3] who were a fanatic branch of the Sadducees. According to this mutilated document, these men would have strictly enforced Sabbath observance, maintained monogamy, and denounced divorce.[4] It has been conjectured that the Damascus group may have given origin to the Karaite Jews,[5]

[2] See *Harper's Weekly*, January 21, 1911, p. 19 (vol. LV).

[3] These followers of Boëthos, whose family gave six high-priests to Israel, are already mentioned by Antigonus of Socho.

[4] But Dr. Margoliouth considers the Boëthusians of this document "perhaps identical with the great company of believing priests of Acts 6:7."

[5] "The Karaites—'Followers of the Bible'—were a Jewish sect professing, in its religious observances and opinions, to follow the Bible to the exclusion of rabbinical traditions and laws. Karaism is . . . but the natural reaction against Talmudism, . . . deriving supports from remnants of seemingly long extinct Sadducean and Essene doctrines, . . . ignoring the rabbinic *Halakah* in favor of Sadducean adherence to the letter of the law. *Shabu'ot* must always be observed on the day after the Sabbath, as the Sadducees and the Samaritans interpret 'the morrow of the Sabbath', . . . nor may the Passover lamb be sacrificed on a Sabbath" (Jewish Encyclopedia, art. *Karaites*).

who have been independent of the Pharisaic development of later Jewry.

18. Conflict with Pharisees.—As the Sadducees were in contrast, so also were they in conflict continually with the Pharisees. One point was: What is the correct day on which to keep Pentecost? Was it to be the fiftieth day from the first day after the Pasch, or from the day after the first Sabbath after the Pasch? The Sadducees held that First-Sheaf Day was the day after the Paschal Sabbath. Thus, in certain years when the Pasch fell on the Sabbath, there was a struggle between the Sadducees (who would see to its celebration on that day) and the Pharisees (who would try to anticipate it on Friday).[6] Another ceremonial detail in dispute was: When should the high-priest, on the Day of Atonement, put incense into the censer? The Sadducees maintained: After he has entered the Holy of Holies. The Sadducees also delighted to torment the Pharisees in their scruples about legal cleanliness. Gamaliel, St. Paul's great Pharisaic teacher, is on record for the following: "Once a Sadducee lived with us in the same courtyard at Jerusalem. My father said once to us: 'Quick! bring all the pots and pans into the courtyard, lest that Sadducee come and bring in something making the courtyard unfit for us!' "

The Sadducees, nevertheless, were in the minority, whilst the Pharisees had the bulk of the people behind them. Hence in practice, reluctant as they might be, the Sadducees had in appearance at least to conform publicly to Pharisaic canons. Nevertheless, the Pharisees could not put the Sadducees out of commission, for the latter were perhaps the bulk of the Levitical priesthood, honored by the Law which the Pharisees strove so exaggeratedly to uphold. Sadducean were the wealthy and noble families, with a glamor of ancient Hasmonean glories behind them. So these two hostile groups had perforce frequently to coöperate. But, when Jerusalem fell

[6] If such was the case in the year of Christ's death, He would probably have celebrated the Pasch according to the Pharisaic and common manner, as the Synoptics note. St. John's time-indication might then refer to the Sadducean Pasch.

after the siege by Titus, there followed also the end of the Sadducean party. For with the destruction of the Temple was necessarily connected the cessation of the priesthood's functions. Thereupon, Pharisaism, unchecked at last in any manner, became triumphant in Jewry. The thought, literature, and practice of Jews from then to the present day have been exclusively Pharisaic.

19. Christ and the Jewish Parties.—As already stated, if the Pharisees in their thought-attitude may be compared to the "fundamentalists" of modern Protestantism, then the Sadducees are reproduced by the "modernists" of the same group. Neither the latter's frank irreligion nor the former's hypocritical insistence on empty trivial forms could be countenanced by Christ. Hence, He found Himself necessarily in opposition to both the most powerful groups in Jewry. Christ's conflict with the Pharisees is the more prominent in the Gospel accounts, because these had the greater popular influence and were practically more harmful with the people. They opposed Christ with narrowminded bigotry at all times and everywhere. With the Sadducees, on the other hand, Christ did not come so much in contact, at least not in Galilee. But he who reads attentively the Passion accounts will note that, although both Sadducees and Pharisees plotted to silence this plain-spoken rabbi from Galilee who castigated them both, it was the high-priest Caïphas who first frankly suggested Christ's being killed (John 11:49–50), and subsequently, at the hearing before the Roman procurator, it was the ἀρχιερεῖς who incited and coached the mob which finally browbeat Pilate into confirming Christ's death sentence.

Art. 5: LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

20. The Koiné Tongue.—As far as philological research has been able to determine, all the Books of the New Testament—with the sole exception of Matthew's Gospel—were originally written in Greek. And even the First Gospel is available only in its Greek translation. However, the Greek of the New Testament writings is not the Greek of Thucydides,

Xenophon or Plato—not the Attic of the classics; nor is it a unique, peculiar, or specifically sacred dialect. On the contrary, it is the vulgar, unliterary tongue spoken by the contemporaries of the New Testament hagiographers—the *koiné* (κοινή) or "common" Greek, which, ever since the time of the Alexandrian Empire, had come to be a world-language,[1] and was indeed the *lingua franca* of commerce and communication in and between the various countries bordering upon or at least adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea. Rome had indeed already conquered Greece, absorbed the scattered units of the former *Diadoché* rule, but the culture of Greece had at the same time conquered Rome. The standards of the Roman language, the Latin classics, were practically but in the making when Christ appeared amongst men. The language of culture and education was consequently Greek; the attainment of Attic perfection was the ideal striven for by rhetoricians and their pupils.

But, if Greek was an accomplishment to be proud of in the higher or wealthier circles of the early Roman Empire, it was also the common gift of the lower classes. But here there was little striving after Attic purity: the delicate rigidities of classic Greek were fractured, the meticulous rules of its syntax disregarded, and the careful vocabulary and grammar of Thucydides and Xenophon were bluntly forced to serve the hard, direct needs of expression of the Cretan sailor, the Ephesian artificer, or the slave of a Roman *dominus*. Hence, in the mouths of these same lower classes in the social scale, Greek was not a stilted, stereotyped speech, but a real living language which they easily managed and adapted to every need, unhampered by rhetoricians' formalities.

Such was the tongue used by the Apostles on most of their missions, and such the language employed by them and their first disciples in composing the New Testament writings. Many an Attic nicety had gone by the board; but it had been

[1] See article "Hellenism and the Jews" in this *Scripture Manual*, vol. I, pp. 302–306.

replaced by a vigor and blunt directness which make the *koiné* an excellent providential medium for preaching and recording the new and vital and worldwide message of nascent Christianity.

21. No Special "Biblical" Greek.—It was once the fashion to consider the Greek of the Sacred Writings somewhat as a sacred tongue set apart. This was at a time when philologists were busied exclusively with the Classics, from which biblical Greek differs so notably. But, in more recent years, archeologists have turned their attention to the "unliterary" literary products of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Apostolic time; and lo! the papyrus fragments and potsherds bearing the crudely traced business contracts, tax receipts, and homely familiar communications of the lowly peasant, artisan, shopkeeper, and slave, are found to be written in the vocabulary, and often even in the style, of the New Testament Books—or, more correctly *vice versa*.[2]

Indeed, many a biblical, and particularly a New Testament, expression whose meaning remained obscure as long as only Classical Greek parallels were available (or sought in vain), has been surprisingly clarified by parallels since found in the unliterary papyri and ostraka. Thus, an humble kitchen account of the Faijûm may throw light on the unusual ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον (Vulgate: *panem supersubstantialem*) of Matt. 6:11 and Luke 11:3 (in which latter place the Vulgate translates the same adjective as "quotidianum"). There, amid a list of petty daily house expenses—such as: "Chickens, 4 denarii; meat, 1 denarius and 1 obolus; salt, 3 oboli; little cakes (ἀρτιδ[ίων]), 2 oboli," etc.—one finds entered as the first item for the 15th Mechir: "ἐπιουσι . . . , ½ obolus." The word is incomplete. Zorell[3] conjectures it might be read and complemented ἐπιουσί[α] (δαπάνη), in the sense of "an (incidental) expense for this day."

[2] This whole topic is extensively treated and illustrated in Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (*Das Neue Testament und die neuendeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt;* English translation, *Light from the Ancient East,* pp. 58 *ss.*).

[3] See F. Zorell's article in *Biblica,* September, 1925, pp. 321–322.

Thus, also, Matt. 26:50 (ἑταῖρε, ἐφ' ὃ πάρει;) has been objected to[4] as a question, on the ground that ὅ is a relative pronoun and not to be used interrogatively. But early drinking glass inscriptions have: ἐφ' ὃ πάρει; Ἐυφραίνου (What are you here for? Enjoy yourself!).

22. Relation to Modern Greek.—The *koinḗ* Greek was essentially the Attic tongue as spoken and spread by Ionians. It is the ancestor of modern Greek. Hence, it happens at times that a New Testament word or grammatical usage receives light from modern Greek. Thus, in Mark 6:21, it is said that Herod gave his birthday party on a ἡμέρα εὔκαιρος, which the Vulgate translates as a *dies opportunus*. Now, in Byzantine texts εὔκαιρος means "vacant," and consequently a "holiday," as a similar phrase in modern Greek means "to be free, at leisure." Herod's banquet, then, occurred on a day on which people did not work, a "holiday." The proverb quoted in Tit. 1:12 (Κρῆτες γαστέρες ἀργαί), generally rendered "lazy bellies," seems to give better sense translated as "gluttonous bellies," after the modern Greek λαιμαργός—composed of λαιμός (= gullet) and ἀργός (= glutton). In Matt. 14:19, the word κελεύσας might, in accord with medieval texts, be translated: "having *invited* the crowds to sit down" (rather than "commanded"). Finally, perhaps modern Greek throws light on the much discussed case of πλήρης in John 1:14. Deissmann cites papyrus usage to show that the word was indeclinable in later common speech; that, consequently, it might be considered accusative in apposition with the δόξαν of the same sentence. But modern Greek distinguishes an accusative case, πλήρη,[5] from the nominative πλήρης; hence, the apposition with λόγος seems again indicated.

23. Semiticisms in New Testament.—Formerly most of the departures of New Testament writers from Attic purity (in grammar and vocabulary) were dubbed Semiticisms. But

[4] Thus where the old King James Version of 1611 had translated: "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" the 1881 Revised Version put: "Friend, do that for which thou are come!" And the *Codex Armachanus* (about 812) translated or corrected the phrase to: "Amice, fac ad quod venisti."

[5] *Codex Bezæ* has in fact πλήρη here.

the more recent attention given the early unliterary papyri, etc., has shown that many, if not most, of the reputed Semiticisms in the New Testament are simply current *koiné* Greek. Though un-Attic, they are not un-Greek. Thus, *βλέπειν ἀπό* (Mark 8:15; 12:38) is good *koiné* for "look out for," as vouched for in an Alexandrian merchant's letter of August 4, 41: *καί σὺ βλέπε σ[ϵ]α[υ]τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (And look out for the Jews). And surely that writer was no Jew! Even the numeric reduplications, *δύο δύο* (Mark 6:7—"two by two"), etc., have been found paralleled in non-Jewish papyri. *Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, as used in Acts, is a business phrase for "to the account of."

24. Semitic Influence.—Although purely Semitic words and expressions, according to Deissmann's researches, amount to less than 2% in the New Testament, nevertheless the thoughts themselves and their broad modes of expression are abundantly Semitic, from the First Gospel through to the Apocalypse. For most of the New Testament hagiographers were either Semites themselves, whose childhood language had been Aramaic, or their sources, whether oral or written, were Semitic. Moreover, a paramount factor with all these writers was the Old Testament, chiefly as presented in the Septuagint version. The Evangelist St. Luke indeed seems consciously to strive at reproducing Septuagint phraseology.

The following are some undeniably Semitic expression forms: "glory in the highest" (Luke 2:14; 19:38); the shepherds' sentence: "Let us see this *word* which has come to pass" (Luke 2:15), which recalls that *dabar* is used for both "word" and "thing" in Hebrew. "The children of this world" (Luke 16:8; 20:34) is one of the many "son" or "daughter" phrases used to denote membership, origin, participation, like "sons of the Kingdom" (Matt. 8:12), "children of the groom" (Matt. 9:15). Additional instances of Semitic phrasing may be seen in the article on the language and style of Matthew and in other special introductions.

Art. 6: CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

25. Apostolic Opinion.—By the Apostles, as by all Jews, the Old Testament writings were considered as divinely inspired, having God Himself as their author. Now, what value did they set upon those religious writings which came from their own hands or were issued under their direct authority?

They considered them inspired and placed them on a par with the Old Testament writings. This is not surprising, for, if the Apostles emphasized—as they did—the divine origin of their spoken word, one may expect them to give similar value to that same word when written. Thus, St. Peter, in his Second Epistle, seems to deal in one place with writings both biblical and such as do not deserve the regard of inspired compositions. When he says (II Pet. 1:15) that he intends to see to it that after his death (soon to take place) his readers will have a reminder of what he taught them, he would seem to have in mind some sort of *written record,* at least his own Epistle. He goes on to emphasize that his message is not based on "artificial myths"—referring perhaps to the apocalyptic fantasies which were popular in later Jewry. And he proceeds to state definitely that "*we* [does he include other Apostles?] have the *prophetic* (= inspired) word more reliably," and follows this with a declaration of how an inspired writing (*πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς*) comes about, not indeed from the writer's own impulse (=*ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως* [1] and *θελήματι ἀνθρώπου*), but from the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration the hagiographers compose. Peter is not so much making an excursus to explain the value of the Old Testament writings —for this was never in question amongst the early Christians, so many of whom were Jews—as establishing equal consideration for New Testament writings as inspired.

Thus, a little farther on in the same Epistle, he takes up

[1] The Vulgate's *propria interpretatione* is not to be taken primarily in the sense of "interpretation" or exposition of a Scriptural text on the part of its readers (as the verb *ἐπιλύω* is used in Mark 4:34), but rather in the sense of the "bringing forth," production thereof on the part of the hagiographer himself (somewhat as *ἐπιλύω* is used in Acts 19:39).

specifically the matter of the Pauline writings (II Pet. 3:15–16), which he plainly declares to be inspired, having been written "according to the wisdom given him (by God)." This would embrace all the Pauline Epistles composed by that time, perhaps even II Timothy. And, when Peter proceeds to state that the Pauline Epistles "as also the other Scriptures" (ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς) are abused by "the unlearned and light-minded," the words, "the *other* Scriptures," need not be taken as referring to the Old Testament only, but as probably including also at least Mark's Gospel. For, it is quite likely that the New Testament writings already known in Asia Minor would be twisted by the first false teachers to their own ends.

St. Paul seems to cite (I Tim. 5:18) an expression from Luke's Gospel (Luke 10:7): "Deserving is the laborer of his hire," as Scripture on a par with Deut. 25:4, introducing both citations with the formula: ἡ γραφὴ λέγει (the Scripture saith).

The Apocalypse bears in itself indications that its author considered it as Scripture. He designates it as a "prophecy," and predicts a blessing on him who reads and cons and observes its words (Apoc. 1:3). Moreover, the author at the close menaces with a dire malediction any one who adds to or tampers with "the words of this prophetic Book" (Apoc. 22:18–19).

Eusebius witnesses [2] that, after the other three Evangelists had written their accounts, St. John *approved* them, noting at the same time the lack of record of Christ's deeds at the beginning of His ministry. This Eusebius gives as a received tradition. It is noteworthy that, in the primitive canon, John's Gospel followed immediately upon Matthew's, these two being grouped together as having Apostles for their authors. Mark and Luke were received as being sponsored by Peter and Paul respectively.

Already in 96, Pope Clement of Rome wrote to the turbulent Corinthian congregation exhorting them again to read I Corinthians: "Receive (= take to heart) the Epistle of

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 24.

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blessed Paul the Apostle. How did he write you at the very outset of the gospel announcement? Truly spiritually (πνευματικῶς) he wrote you." [3]

26. Canon of Muratori.—The Greek original of the fragment (of 8th or 9th century) which bears the name of its discoverer, Muratori (1740),[4] has been conjectured by Lagrange to be probably ascribable to Hippolytus, when he posed as anti-pope against Callixtus (217–218).[5] Harnack alleged it to be a formal dogmatic pronouncement of some early third-century Pope (Victor or Zephyrin?). It reflects the New Testament Canon as accepted by the Roman Church in the third century.

In the mutilated opening of the fragment, the *"tamen"* of the present first line implies a foregoing statement to the effect that the Evangelist previously mentioned as in second place was not an eyewitness (compare the *"tamen nec ipse"* in the Luke paragraph). This would indicate Mark for that position. For, Mark indeed was not, as Matthew had been, an eyewitness of the facts of Christ's life, but these were related by Peter in his instructions (". . . quibus tamen interfuit"), at which Mark, nevertheless, was present, and which he set down as delivered ("et ita posuit"), that is to say, not in chronologic order. The contrast postulated by the mutilated line thus also demands that first of all was mentioned the name of an eyewitness Evangelist (namely, Matthew).

The Muratorian fragment presupposes a real and definite New Testament Canon already operative between 150–200. It declares that the four Gospels, despite their diverse openings ("licet varia singulis Evangeliorum libris principia doceantur"), are all inspired "uno ac principali spiritu," and substantially contain "omnia de nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione cum discipulis suis (= after the Resurrection), ac de gemino (= genuino?) eius adventu, primo in humilitate despectus, quod fuit (= which has al-

[3] Clement of Rome, *Ad Corinth.*, I, 47, 1.

[4] See this *Scripture Manual*, vol. I, p. 27. See text of Muratorian Canon, in Appendix, pp. 45–46.

[5] See *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, August, 1926, p. 1178; and *Revue Biblique*, January, 1926, pp. 83–88.

ready taken place), secundo (in) potestate regali . . . quod futurum est." Incidentally, one may remark that there is no false notion of a near *parousia* shown here.

27. Doubtful N. T. Books.—Thus, practically the whole of the New Testament list is vouched for as canonical as early as the fourth century.[6] Temporary doubts about canonicity are seen to affect only Hebrews, Jude, James, II Peter, II and III John, and the Apocalypse. Hebrews was questioned chiefly on dogmatic grounds, because of the apparent severity of Heb. 6:4–8: "For, it is impossible for those who were once illuminated . . . and are fallen away, to be renewed again to penance." This might have made considerable difficulty in application to the *lapsi* of the persecutions. II and III John may have been considered private letters, as apparently not addressed to Christian communities or their heads. Jude may have been suspect because of containing a quotation from an apocryphal writing. The Apocalypse was abused for the early errors of Millenarianism. Misuse by heretics would always tend to make a Book suspect. The very discrimination and hesitation of early Christians in this matter demonstrate that they would not thoughtlessly or lightly admit any and every religious writing to the Canon.

Art. 7: MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

28. Writing Materials.—Papyrus sheets pasted together to form a continuous strip, and then wound up into a roll, seem to have been the material base of the New Testament writings. Parchment would have been too expensive for the slender apostolic purse. The χάρτης St. John mentions himself as using (II John 1:12) is this papyrus "paper." The mystical books visioned by the same writer in his Apocalypse are also designated as βιβλία, or "rolls" (*volumina*). The *codex* formed of skin membranes folded into signatures and fastened at the back does not seem to have come into common use until almost the fourth century. The pen was usually a

[6] Some formal dogmatic canon lists may be seen in *Scripture Manual*, vol. I, pp. 122–123.

split reed, κάλαμος (III John 1:13). The φελόνης[1] which St. Paul requests Timothy to bring along from Troas (II Tim. 4:13), was probably just such a case for carrying books. The *biblia* may have been Paul's own or other New Testament writings, whilst the μεμβράναι would seem to have been Old Testament Books, considered more precious, and reverently consigned by the Jews to parchment.

The writing itself of that time was in large *uncial* characters, somewhat similar to modern capitals. Spacing between words, punctuation, and accents were all practically unused. By his "Look with what big letters I have written to you with my own hand!" (Gal. 6:11), St. Paul probably had reference to his clumsy handwriting (he generally employed a secretary), and not to the grave reproaches he had made to the Galatians. His fingers were perhaps better accustomed to handling the sailmaker's needle (Acts 18:3) than the scribe's pen.

Undoubtedly the *autographa* of the New Testament were much read and handled. Considering the fragile character of papyrus, it is no wonder that no fragment of them seems to have survived to the present time. Yet, the numerous papyrus fragments of the early centuries found in the dry sands of Egyptian territory prove such a survival not impossible.

29. Multiplication of Manuscripts.—Theoretically the MSS. of the New Testament writings should have multiplied evenly and without change from generation to generation in a sort of arithmetic progression. First, faithful copies would have been made from the apostolic autographs for the use of the ever-increasing number of Christian communities desirous of possessing the records of their teachers. Then others, more numerous but equally faithful, would have been made from these, and so on. But the Bible, like Christ Himself, is both Divine and human; and its human element—the actual writing and transmission of the documents—was as much subject

[1] The word was variously spelled, φαιλόνης, φαινόλης, and is defined in Hesychius' *Lexicon* as εἱλητάριον μεμβράν[ν]ον ἢ γλωσσόκομον (a "skin wrapper or pouch").

to human vicissitudes as the body of Christ was to the blows of the scourges and the rending of the nails. Nevertheless, despite accidents and corruptions in transmission, the content of the inspired New Testament writings has been handed down, preserved in such manner as ordinary important historic documents are kept reliable, so as to be, even at the present day, substantially identical with what issued from the pens of the hagiographers.

30. Causes of Variation.—Many factors contributed towards modifying the above-mentioned theoretical uniformity and evenness of multiplication. The first of these, in time if not in importance, was the unavoidable liability of copyists to errors in transcription of their originals. Such errors might be due to slips of sight, mistaking a letter or word in the model text for another or similar one; or to slips of hearing, when the reader dictating to several scribes was misunderstood, or himself mispronounced a word. Such mispronunciations were at times due to dialectal differences.

Thus, in I John 5:18, the Vulgate has *generatio Dei*, where the common Greek reading is ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (he who is born of God). The Latin translator seems to have read ἡ γέννησις (as in the minuscules 1852 and 2138 of the eleventh century), which a subsequent copyist misread by taking the ending -CEIC for -ΘEIC, and then changing the article to correspond. Thus, also the ἐκσῶσαι of *B* and *C* in Acts 27:39 is quite obviously an error of mishearing for the ἐξῶσαι preserved in ℵ and *A*, etc.

An at least equally important, though somewhat later, factor making for variation and at the same time fixation was the tendency to edit the text in the interest either of the correction of errors such as those mentioned, or of the clarification of obscurities, or of the reconciliation of antilogies. Thus, sometimes elements from Christian oral tradition or from homiletic exposition—correct enough perhaps in themselves, but nevertheless expansions not contained in the originals—would be introduced.

Moreover, before separate lectionaries were compiled containing the liturgical selections of the Epistles and Gospels,

the complete texts themselves were used for the public reading in the church. Thus, certain portions might be excised for fear of *scandalum pusillorum,*[2] phrasing changed here and there for the sake of greater reverence or clearness, passages in one Gospel assimilated to parallels in another, etc. Then, essays would early be made to fuse the accounts of the four Gospels into a single narrative, a *Diatesseron.*[3]

31. Factors of Conservation.—But, if by successive modifications, additions, and omissions these various causes tended to produce a text increasingly different from that of the autographs, there were at the same time equally powerful factors striving for the preservation of the text in its pristine purity. Foremost of these was, of course, the great reverence accorded Books which were esteemed to enshrine the Word of God Himself. But scarcely secondary was the need felt for an accurate, reliable text acceptable as a basis by both sides in the many controversies of Christians with heretics (whose rise is practically coëval with that of Christianity). Because of this need, learned men sought out diligently the best manuscripts to obtain copies thereof or to correct their own thereby. *Scriptoria,* where books were manufactured, would possess certain master copies carefully collated with manuscripts that were deemed the most accurate. These master copies would leave the imprint of their own textual peculiarities, not only upon the manuscripts issued from that particular *scriptorium,* but also indirectly (though clearly enough to be recognizable) upon other copies made in succeeding generations. Thus, if far back a certain MS. had been once revised or corrected either by collation with other MSS. or otherwise (thus forming a "recension"), traces of these modifications are still indubitably visible in the MSS.,

[2] An example of this might be the pericope of the adulteress in John 8: 1–11, which, however, some small MSS. add after Luke 21: 38.

[3] Tatian's Syriac *Diatesseron* is, of course, the best-known example. It seems to have been preceded by a Greek one. A late and very interesting attempt at such a compilation of the Gospel accounts is that of Cardinal Lépicier, O.S.M., *Diatesseron seu Concordia Quatuor Evangeliorum* (4 vols.), Rome, 1924–27. In English there is available Breen's *Harmonized Exposition of the Four Gospels* (4 vols.).

which, derived from that same original, have come down to the present time.

Hence, the hundreds of New Testament MSS. with all their variants do not form a completely heterogeneous *thóhu-wabóhu* of text. They fall into certain definite groups or families, and the study and classification of these have been an outstanding achievement of scriptural scholarship in the last century.

By practically common consent of scripturists the New Testament MSS. still preserved fall, by and large, into three great groups: the Old Uncial, the Antiochian or Lucianic, and the Western.[4] Of course, no single given MS. contains the text reading of its respective family unalloyed: the classification depends upon the preponderance of a group of characteristics.

32. Old Uncial Group.—The name here given to this family is derived from the fact that its most important and representative MSS. are written in the large "old uncial" letters. Egypt, and particularly Alexandria, seems to have been the home of this text. It is not a recension, but belongs rather to the primitive stage of free variation in uncontrolled copying. Its characteristics are negative, consisting largely in the absence of recensional peculiarities, which mark the Antiochian and Western families. Hence, it would seem to represent most nearly the text upon which those others were based.

Westcott and Hort subdivide the Old Uncial family into "Neutral" and "Alexandrian." The former title is applied to the earlier MSS. of this group, because of the absence of striking peculiarities, as above noted. The latter name is given to later MSS. of the same great group, in which inferior readings appear in somewhat definite assortment (chiefly

[4] Already in St. Jerome's time (fourth century) three types of text were recognized, according to his preface to Paralipomena: "Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat; mediæ hos provinciæ Palæstinos (*var.*, Palestinæ) codices legunt quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat." Jerome himself preferred the last class.

quoted in the writings of the Fathers), whence Westcott and Hort conjectured a recension. But it seems more probable that there was no intentional recension, but simply a gradual accumulation of certain errors. The Old Uncial group is practically identical with von Soden's *H(esychius)* classification, also called Egyptian.

Codex Vaticanus or *B,* of the 4th century, now in the Vatican Library, is the outstanding representative of the Old Uncials, containing most of both the Old and the New Testament. It is of Egyptian origin, and perhaps to be associated with the influence of Athanasius. It is very carefully written. The preëminence of *B* for the Gospels, Acts, and Encyclical Epistles (but not wholly for the Pauline writings) is due to the current acceptance by scholars of the type of text to which it belongs as generally superior to that of both the Western and the Antiochian groups. *Codex Sinaiticus* or ℵ, discovered in 1844 by Tischendorf in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, is also of the 4th century, and probably likewise of Egyptian origin. However, it is rather carelessly written, with many lapses in spelling due to the influence of dialectal and vulgar speech. Singular readings of ℵ hardly ever commend themselves. In the Gospels the text has suffered considerably from harmonization. The text of ℵ in the New Testament closely resembles that of *B,* and (apart from the Apocalypse) is excellent. ℵ and *B* rarely agree in a detectable error. *Codex Alexandrinus* or *A,* now in the British Museum, originated in either Constantinople or Egypt, in the 5th or 6th century, and is written with fair accuracy. In the New Testament, it contains relatively few readings peculiar to itself. However, it is of heterogeneous composition. The Gospels show a mixture of Antiochian revision with an earlier (Western?) text. In the Acts, correction from the Antiochian cannot be affirmed. For the Apocalypse, it is the best of the extant MSS. The Vulgate New Testament version, whilst resting on a form of Latin akin to the Western text, was brought by St. Jerome into close conformity with a Greek text similar to *A*'s.

33. The Antiochian Group.—This is the group denominated "Syrian" by Westcott and Hort, and is largely the same as the *K*(*oiné*) group of von Soden. Its name is derived from Antioch in Syria, where in the 4th century an attempt was made (according to internal evidence), through formal recension, to bring the New Testament text out of the confusion into which it had fallen. This recension of the New Testament corresponds to the Lucianic revision of the Old Testament made at the same place and time under the direction of Lucian Martyr (died 312).[5] Characteristics of the Antiochian revision are: the endeavor to make endings and other grammatical details correspond to grammarians' rules; improvement in expression, order, and diction. Synonyms are substituted, and particles changed or added. The text is often expanded a little, rarely shortened. The Antiochian recension bears a general similarity to the Old Uncial text, differing far less from it than from the Western. Its use pervaded Greece and Asia Minor, and can be traced in Antiochian and Syrian Greek writings of the 4th century. Mount Athos later became a center of its diffusion. Codices of this recension, some majuscules, belonging to the 8th and 9th centuries and after, are abundant. *H, L, P,* and *S* are examples, and the Greek of *E, Codex Laudianus* (6th or 7th century), is largely Antiochian. The Vulgate version of the New Testament seems to be quite free from Antiochian influence. The printed Greek *textus receptus* is derived from Lucianic MSS.

34. The Western Group.—It is doubtful whether this family, not certainly witnessed to by any pure continuous manuscript, should be assigned any distinct standing on a par with the above-mentioned groups. Perhaps its distinctive

[5] St. Jerome does not seem to have approved of the Antiochian edition, for he wrote to Pope Damasus in 384: "Prætermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum adserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in veteri instrumento post LXX interpretes emendare quid licuit nec in novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura antea translata, doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."

element is simply the conglomerate of expanded and paraphrastic readings accumulating through centuries, which remains after the Old Uncial and the Antiochian text is subtracted.

Anyhow, it is named Western because of the diffusion of such readings in the MSS. of Greek text and versions used in Western lands, Spain, Gaul, and Northern Africa. Characteristics of the Western text are: paraphrastic rewriting, with removal of superficial inconsistencies; abundant use of religious commonplaces, such as the Saviour's titles; a striving after smoothness, fullness, emphasis, by expansion. There is an abundance of textual singularities, especially additions and deviations, many of them made perhaps from ancient traditional matter. Thus, after Luke 6:4 follows the story of a man who works in the field on a Sabbath. Christ says to him: "Man, if thou knowest what thou dost, blest art thou. But if thou knowest not, thou art condemned." In Luke 23:53, it is added that the stone closing Christ's tomb was so great that "twenty men could scarcely move it." Thus also, where *Codex Vaticanus* gives the words of St. Paul (Acts 14:9) simply as: "Arise erect upon thy feet!" the *Codex Bezæ* has: "I say to thee, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, arise erect upon thy feet and walk"—evidently an assimilation to Peter's command in Acts 3:6. In the account of the Ephesians' riot, where *B* has only: "Hearing (Demetrius' speech) and being filled with anger they cried out . . ." (Acts 19:28), *D* makes an addition: "Hearing these things, and being filled with anger and running into the square, they cried out . . ."

Some[6] would consider the Western text a true recension made early in the 2nd century. An unknown editor of that period is supposed to have taken a text similar to that of the Old Uncials, and rewritten it paraphrastically with many expansions. Such an hypothesis is certainly less unreasonable than to suppose that the Old Uncial text had been derived from the Western by eliminating the latter's expan-

[6] Thus, J. H. Ropes in editing the text of Acts in vol. III of the *Beginnings of Christianity* (Macmillan, 1926).

sions, but that is about the best that can be said for it. The very fact that such a theory is broached, serves to support the Diatesseron explanation offered by Vogels to account for the peculiarities of *D*, which is the chief witness for a Western text.

D, Codex Cantabrigiensis or *Bezæ*,[7] is a bilingual (Greek and Latin) manuscript of the 5th or 6th century, conjectured to be of Sicilian or Syrian origin. It is poorly written, and on the Greek side the scribe is guilty of many obvious blunders. Harmonizations of parallel passages as between the several Gospels, and in the parts of Acts which resemble one another, are numerous, and often do not agree with similar harmonizations in the Antiochian text. There is considerable assimilation of the Greek column to the Latin, besides which Latinizing influence from elsewhere is also discernible in the Greek.

For these and other peculiarities, Vogels[8] has offered a solution which, besides explaining the origin of the text of *D*, should also remove the whole Western text (of which *D* is the mainstay) from a position of parity with the Old Uncial. The key is Tatian's[9] *Diatesseron*. This was a running compilation of the four separate Gospel accounts into one. It is not certain whether Tatian simply translated an earlier Greek (or Latin?) diatesseron into Syriac, or whether he himself composed the diatesseron in Greek or Syriac from the Greek Gospels. At any rate, this Syriac *Evangelion da Mehallete* or "Mixed Gospel" was in use in the churches of Syria during the 3rd and 4th centuries, until Rabbulas, Bishop of Edessa (411–435), commanded the use of the separate Gospels, *Evangelion da Mepharreshe*.

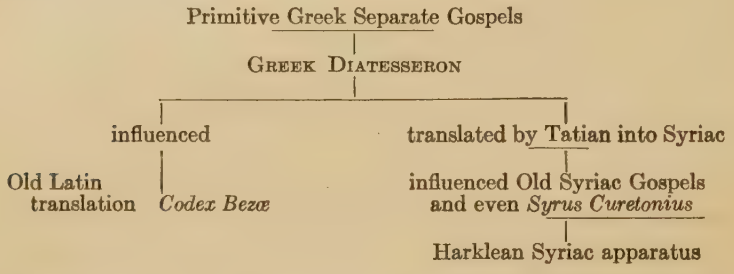
So, whether composed by Tatian or some one else, there was already in the 2nd century a work fusing the four dis-

[7] It was presented to Cambridge University by Beza in 1581.

[8] In *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis* (1910) and *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatesseron im Abendlande*. See also H. Schumacher's articles in *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, September, October, November, December, 1923.

[9] Tatian, of unknown origin, was converted to Christianity about 150, and at Rome was a hearer of Justin Martyr. About 172 he apostatized, became an Encratite Gnostic, and returned to the Orient.

tinct Gospel accounts into one, a *diatesseron.* Naturally, harmonization of parallel passages, removal of antilogies, would be an outstanding characteristic of such a work, and explanatory interpolations and expansions would easily be admitted. The harmonistic interpolations of *D* are paralleled by those of Tatian's *Diatesseron.* Vogels[10] concludes that the peculiar readings of *Codex Bezæ* (which supplies the bulk of Western diversity) are due to an early Greek diatesseron, which was either made by Tatian himself or at least influenced Tatian's. A table of origin might be arranged as follows:



The final items of this table indicate the chief witnesses for a Western text.

35. Conclusion.—None of the supported variant readings of the MSS. of the New Testament are of direct dogmatic importance. The better than substantial unity of text found in all this diversity of MSS. is sufficient witness that a good modern critical text[11] faithfully represents the content of the apostolic autographs. As for the Vulgate—the official Latin version, whose New Testament is at base the Old Latin corrected and brought into conformity with a Greek of the Old Uncial type by St. Jerome—it is a substantially correct ver-

[10] Lagrange, however, does not accept the theory of Vogels, and points out certain weaknesses in his argumentation (in *Revue Biblique*, 1924, pp. 264–267 and 624–626). He prefers, as explanatory of the Western text, the hypothesis of a harmonized Greek (individual) Gospel text, originating at Alexandria.

[11] A handy modern critical edition is Vogels' *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine* (Düsseldorf, 1922), which comes in two compact volumes, with abundant variants noted in apparatus, and the Vulgate's Latin interleaved.

sion accommodated to common use by its familiar clarity. It, nevertheless, contains some sporadic Western readings. For the appreciation of the finer *nuances* of the text, consultation of the Greek is indispensable.

36. Ordinary Printed Greek N. T. Text.—The first New Testament Greek text to be prepared for print was that of Cardinal Ximenes' *Complutensian Polyglott* (1514–1520) at Alcalá in Spain. Endeavoring to anticipate the great Spanish work, Erasmus of Rotterdam collaborated with Froeben, a printer of Basle, to get out a rush edition of the Greek New Testament in 1516, which he dedicated to Pope Leo X (1513–1521). Other editions under Erasmus followed (1519–1535). The 1519 edition was the one used by Luther. Erasmus' Greek text has been used again and again by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It has no critical value.

Robert Stephanus (Etienne), Bishop of Paris, published Greek New Testament editions in 1546–49–50–51–57. The 1550 *editio Regia* became the basis of the *textus receptus*. The 1557 edition introduced the division of the text into verses.

Beza (1519–1605), following chiefly Stephanus, got out ten editions of the Greek New Testament, not, however, using Codex *D* as a base. His and Stephanus' final editions formed the foundation of the King James English version.

APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE MURATORIAN CANON

(With Latin Partially Corrected)

. . . [iuxta quod audierat a Petro in concionibus] quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit.

Tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucam, Lucas, iste medicus, post ascensum Christi, cum eum Paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum secundum (= secum?) assumpsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne. Et idem, prout assequi potuit, ita et a nativitate Ioannis incipit dicere.

Quarti evangeliorum Ioannes ex discipulis. Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: "Conieiunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus." Eadem nocte revelatum Andreæ ex apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis

Ioannes suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet varia singulis evangeliorum libris principia doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidei, cum uno ac principali Spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione cum discipulis suis, ac de gemino eius adventu, primo in humilitate despectus, quod fuit, secundo potestate regali . . . præclarum, quod futurum est. Quid ergo mirum si Ioannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistolis suis proferat, dicens in semetipsum: "Quæ vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus et manus nostræ palpaverunt, hæc scripsimus vobis." Sic enim non solum visorem, sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium Domini per ordinem profitetur.

Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas "optime Theophile" comprehendit quia sub præsentia eius singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.

Epistolæ autem Pauli quæ, a quo loco vel ex qua causa directæ sint volentibus intelligere ipsæ declarant. Primum omnium Corinthiis schismæ hæreses interdicens, deinceps Galatis circumcisionem, Romanis autem ordinem Scripturarum, sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans, prolixius scripsit, de quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari.

Cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prædecessoris sui Ioannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim, septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali: Ad Corinthios prima, ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatas quinta, ad Thessalonicenses sexta, ad Romanos septima. Verum Corinthiis et Thessalonicensibus licet pro correptione iteretur; una tamen per omnem orbem terræ Ecclesia diffusa esse dignoscitur. Et Ioannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit.

Verum ad Philemonem una, et ad Titum una, et ad Timotheum duæ pro effectu et dilectione; in honore tamen Ecclesiæ catholicæ, in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt.

Fertur etiam ad Laodicenses, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine fictæ ad hæresem Marcionis, et alia plura, quæ in catholicam Ecclesiam recipi non potest. Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit.

Epistola sane Iudæ et superscripti Ioannis duæ in catholica habentur, et (ut?) Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honore ipsius scripta.

Apocalypsem etiam Ioannis, et Petri tantum (unam epistolam) recepimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in Ecclesia nolunt.

Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit (sedente cathedra urbis Romæ?) ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre eius. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, sed publicare vero in Ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas completum numero, neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest.

Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Miltiadis nihil in totum recipimus. Quin etiam novum psalmorum librum Marcioni conscripserunt. Una cum Basilide Asianum Cataphrygum constitutorem. . . .

SECOND PART

INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS

Ryght wysly guo (so) con rede,
He loke on Bok & be awayed
How Jesus Hym welke in are-pede.
Middle English *Perle*, LX.

Quia igitur debilis erat Dei cognitio ad quam homo . . . intellectuali quodam quasi intuitu pertingere poterat, ex superabundanti bonitate, ut firmior esset hominis de Deo cognitio, quædam de seipso hominibus revelavit, quæ intellectum humanum excedunt; in qua quidem revelatione secundum congruentiam hominis quidam ordo servatur, ut paulatim de imperfecto veniat ad perfectum.

Primo igitur sic homini revelantur ut tamen non intelligantur, sed sola quasi audita credantur, quia intellectus hominis, secundum hunc statum quo sensibilibus est connexus, ad ea intuenda quæ omnes proportiones sensus excedunt omnino elevari non potest. Sed cum a sensibilium connexione fuerit liberatus, tunc elevabitur ad ea quæ revelantur intuenda.

Aquinas, Contra Gentiles, lib. IV, 1.

SECOND PART

THE GOSPELS ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW, ST. MARK, ST. LUKE, AND ST. JOHN, THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

PROLEGOMENA

37. Meaning of "Gospel."—The English term "Gospel" is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gode-spell* (= good tale), and is an accurate translation of the original εὐαγγέλιον (Latin, *evangelium*). Whilst in Classic Greek this word denotes the reward or tip given a bringer of good news,[1] in the *koiné* it seems to have been used to designate the good news itself. Odd to note, its first extra-biblical application is in a reference to the birth of Cæsar Augustus, who in the text is called god: ἦρξεν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν δι' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελί-[ων ἡ γενέθλιος] τοῦ θεοῦ.[2] Similarly, on the occasion of G. Julius Verus Maximus' being announced Emperor, an Egyptian official (a little after 238) wrote on papyrus to a friend to inform him of a religious procession to be held, "since [there has been brought to my knowledge] the glad tidings (εὐαγγελίον) that our best-beloved-of-God, the self-empowered (αὐτοκράτορος) Emperor Gaius Julius Verus Maximin . . . has been proclaimed Emperor."[3] Paradoxically fitting indeed is it that the term used in connection with the birth of the Emperor under whose rule Christ was born, and the same term which announced the enthronization of another Emperor, "best-beloved-of-God," should be the very word consecrated to entitle the announce-

[1] Homer, *Odyss.* 152: εὐαγγέλιον δέ μοι ἔστω.

[2] Perhaps to be translated: "[the birthday] of the god (= Augustus Cæsar) was for the world the beginning of what through him are glad tidings." Calendar inscription of Priene, of about 9 B.C., reproduced in Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 313 (Tübingen, 1923).

[3] Deissmann, *ibid.*, p. 314.

ment of the birth of the real God-King, which was in truth the beginning of good things for the whole world, and the enthronization of Christ, truly "self-empowered" by the lone victory of His Passion and Resurrection, as ruler of the whole earth in place of its previous tyrant, Satan.

The Semitic counterpart of εὐαγγελιον is found in בְּשַׂר (sometimes with טוֹב added), which means "to make one appear joyful by good news," as in II Kings 18:25, where David says, as the messenger with the news of Absalom's death is seen coming: "If he be alone, there are good tidings in his mouth" (see also II Kings 4:10; 1:20).

38. Gospels not Biographies.—The Evangelists in their works were not first of all concerned to give an historical account of Christ's life. The Gospels are not primarily biographies, but brief summaries of the content of the Apostles' preaching. Moreover, their authors never intended that the written Gospels should be taken as the foundation of the Church, nor are the Evangelists ever named and considered as the human founders of the Church, which rather is considered as "built upon the foundation [of the preaching] of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the main corner-stone" (Eph. 2:20). In the minds of the Evangelists, the Gospels were quite *secondary* to, and subject to interpretation and supplementation by the great body of oral doctrine divinely communicated by the word of mouth of Christ Himself and by those whom He had taught and authorized. Christ Himself never wrote a word of a Gospel, nor did He command that what He had taught should be written down. The Church, Christ's "Kingdom of God," was founded and flourished at least a dozen years before the reed pen of any New Testament writer set his account upon papyrus, and it was more than half a century old when the last page of the New Testament was written. Consequently, the Church founded by Christ was in its origin, and still is in its existence, independent, absolutely speaking, of the Gospels and other New Testament writings. Its cornerstone is not the pen, nor the typewriter, nor the printing press, but the living word of God as it proceeded from the mouth of Christ and

was continued in promulgation by the Apostles and their legitimate successors.

For the Church as for the Evangelists, the Gospels are mere skeleton sketches, outlines, incomplete statements,[4] which must be filled in, supplemented, and interpreted by the whole great body of doctrine left by Christ to His Church. Any other attitude would be unfair and unfaithful to Christ the Founder, whose intention and purpose and work must be judged by *all* that He did and taught, and not merely by those of His deeds and words which happened to get recorded in the Gospels. Tradition has to serve as the base and cement which holds in place the beautiful pattern of the magnificent mosaic of divine Revelation in the Sacred Scriptures, and preserves the right and intelligible relationship of its parts. When this unifying cement of tradition is eaten away by the acid corrosions of hypercriticism, then the essential elements, the colorful fragmental units, of the original still remain, it is true, but without the meaning and sense of their proper interrelationship they become but a confused medley of brilliant baubles, children's playthings to be tossed about with even the danger that the child-mind of ignorance will injure itself on their sharp edges of antilogies. To reconstruct the mosaic of Christian Revelation, the cement of Christian tradition is indispensable.

[4] In this matter, the view of the primitive Church, if not of St. John himself, is clearly given in the epilogue to the Fourth Gospel: "But there are also many other things which Jesus did—which, if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written" (John 21: 25).

CHAPTER I

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW

Art. 1: TRADITION ON ST. MATTHEW

39. Author is Matthew-Levi.—First of the Gospels[1] in the canonical collections as well as the earliest New Testament writing[2] is the Gospel called "according to Matthew." As its author historical testimony is unanimous in naming the Apostle Matthew, former Galilean tax-collector (Matt. 9:9, 10:3; Luke 6:15), whom Mark and Luke call Levi (Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27).[3] It is moreover stated that his Gospel was written in Palestine for the converted Jews and in their own tongue, which of course was Aramaic. The following are some of the more important historic witnesses:

Papias, friend of Polycarp and Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, about the middle of the 2nd century (wrote perhaps about 125), who had heard John the Apostle and John the Presbyter (if the latter be taken as a personage dis-

[1] The aberrations of untraditional opinion following preconceived fantastic hypotheses are exemplified in the following: "To St. Mark belongs the honour of being the earliest of our Evangelists. . . . As regards St. Matthew's Gospel . . . it is probably so named, not because in its present form it is the direct work of the Apostle Matthew, but because it embodies in a Greek dress certain Aramaic *logia* or discourses of the Lord which he had collected," asserts George Milligan, *The New Testament Documents* (Croall Lectures of 1911–12), pp. 143, 147.

[2] No Pauline Epistle has been proved to antedate Matthew's Gospel, although some imaginative critics have placed Galatians at the head of the New Testament.

[3] The original name seems to have been Levi. Was "Matthew" perhaps imposed after the call to the apostolate? It means "Who has been given (by God)." The Apostle is recorded as "the son of Alpheus" (Mark 2:14). This Alpheus, otherwise unknown, is not to be identified with the Alpheus-Klopas who was the husband of Mary-Klopas and the father of the Apostle James the Less and of Joseph, Simon, and Jude—all relatives of Christ by marriage (John 19:25; Mark 15:40; Matt. 27:56; Acts 1:13–14; John 7:5).

tinct from John the Apostle): "Now concerning Matthew he (Papias) was informed as follows: Matthew indeed drew up the *logia* in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could."[4] This is the much-discussed text which gave rise to the "Two-Source" hypothesis of Matthean composition.[5]

Ireneus, Bishop of Lyons (about 185): "Matthew indeed [having preached] amongst the Jews, moreover gave out a Gospel writing in their own language, whilst Peter and Paul were evangelizing and founding the Church at Rome."[6] In the preceding context of Ireneus, the preaching activities of the Apostles had been considered: the sense here is: Matthew not only preached, but moreover (the difficult *καί*) composed a written Gospel also. The (erroneous) synchronism of Peter and Paul's Roman ministry with the composition of Matthew will be considered in the article on the date of Matthew.

Origen (185–254) in his first book of commentaries on Matthew: "The first (Gospel) written is that of the former publican, who later was an Apostle of Jesus Christ, Matthew, who gave it out to the believers who came from Judaism, composed in Hebrew characters."[7]

Eusebius himself (260–341) adds further details: "Of all those associated immediately with the Lord (= the Apostles) only Matthew and John have left us memoirs, and tradition has it that these came to write by a kind of necessity. For, Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, when he had

[4] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 39, 18. The Greek text of this and other passages here cited will be found gathered in Appendix II, p. 72.

[5] See Art. 3 of this chapter.

[6] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* V, 8; Rufinus' Latin translation is: "Matthæus quidem Hebræis propria eorum lingua conscriptum edidit evangelium, cum Paulus et Petrus in urbe Roma evangelizarent atque ecclesiæ inibi fundamenta solidarent."

[7] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* VI, 25. Here may be added the testimony of Pantenus (before 180), founder of the Alexandrian School, also cited by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.,* V, 10): "Pantenus is said to have gone to the Indies (Yemen or Arabia Felix) where he found the Gospel according to Matthew to have preceded him amongst certain of them who had known of Christ; Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, [is said] to have preached to them, and to have left them Matthew's writing in Hebrew characters, which had been preserved until the time given."

to go elsewhere, by leaving in writing in his mother-tongue the Gospel by himself, by this writing compensated those from whom he was departing for the lack of his personal presence."[8]

Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386): "Matthew, who wrote the Gospel, wrote it in the Hebrew tongue."[9] *Epiphanius* (d. 535): "And this Matthew writes the Gospel in Hebrew characters, and preaches."[10] *Chrysostom* (347–407): "It is said that Matthew at the solicitation of believing Jews who came to him, gave out to them in writing what he had said in speeches, and [thus] composed the Gospel in the language of the Hebrews."[11] *Ephrem* (d. 373): "Matthew wrote the Gospel in Hebrew, which was afterwards translated into Greek."

What are the main items regarding the First Gospel thus vouched for by historic evidence? That it was written by the Apostle Matthew, in the Aramaic[12] language, for Judeo-Christians, in Palestine, before that Apostle had to go elsewhere on mission tour; finally, that later on Matthew's Gospel was translated into Greek. Nowhere is ancient tradition found divided or hesitant about the authenticity of the First Gospel, although hesitation is at times noted for a few other New Testament Books.

40. Confirmation from Internal Evidence.—Many of the above data given by history can be confirmed from internal evidence. That the author is a *Jew* is clear from his familiarity with the Old Testament writings, and his appreciation of their typical and prophetic value. Moreover, Jerusalem is for him "the Holy City" and the Temple is "the Holy Place" —despite the fact of the deicide he connects with both. Again, the language and style of this Gospel—as well as they can be perceived through the translation—strongly bespeak the

[8] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 24.
[9] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, XIV, 15.
[10] Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.*, LI, 5: see also *ibid.*, XXX, 6.
[11] Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matth.*, I, 3.
[12] As between the First Gospel's having been composed in ancient Hebrew or in the Aramaic tongue, which for several centuries had already replaced Hebrew as the vulgar tongue of the Palestinian Jews, the former theory finds little support with recent scripturists.

Semite. Galilee with its sky, its fields, its mountains, its streams, its herds, and the lake with its fisherfolk, are all familiar to the author of the First Gospel, and assumed to be equally so for his readers.

The author of the First Gospel was an *eyewitness* of Christ's deeds and words. Never once does he indicate a source: his own testimony, it is assumed, will never be questioned. The discourses of Christ he reproduces at great length. Such is the familiarity with Christ's life-history which he assumes for both himself and his readers that he can dispense with having to give a chronological narrative, and collect and concentrate speeches and acts of divers occasions into groups to point his argument.

That the First Gospel was written *for Jews* is manifest from the fact of its insistence on the argument from Old Testament prophecy; that its end-object is to demonstrate that Christ was indeed the Messias; that Gentiles are placed on a par with publicans and sinners; that such prominence is given to Christ's difficulties with the Pharisees.[13]

Finally, it is noteworthy that the author of the First Gospel shows himself technically exact in writing of taxes and duties. And, whilst Mark and Luke, in relating Matthew's call to the apostolate, avoid mentioning his new name but give only the older one, Levi, the author of the First Gospel bluntly identifies the man called as "Matthew," and calls him thus or simply "the publican." Moreover, in the apostolic lists where Mark and Luke pair Matthew and Thomas in the fourth rank, the author of the First Gospel does likewise, but the name of Matthew follows that of Thomas.

[13] This last characteristic shows equally that, at the time of the First Gospel's composition, the Pharisees were still a powerful factor hostile to the nascent Church. And this was particularly the case at the accession of Herod Agrippa I, with its accompanying martyrdom of James the Greater and imprisonment of Peter, "seeing that it pleased the Jews" (Acts 12; 1-3).

Art. 2: DATE OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

41. Aramaic Matthew.—"As I learned from tradition regarding the four Gospels . . . the first Gospel to be written was that by Matthew—at first a publican and later on an Apostle of Jesus Christ—who published it, composed in Hebrew characters, for the believers [converted] from Judaism." This is a citation by Eusebius[1] from the first book of Origen's (185–254) commentary on Matthew. Numerous other witnesses to tradition likewise testify indirectly to the priority of the Matthean Gospel by their reference to its having been composed in Aramaic for the Judeo-Christians. It should be remembered in this connection that Matthew-Levi, formerly a tax-collector, must have had sufficient literary training to keep account books. Perhaps he was the only one of the Apostles who was not originally illiterate. Of him, then, would naturally be expected the earliest compilation of a written account of Christ's words and deeds.

But when was St. Matthew's Gospel composed in Aramaic? And when was the canonical Greek edition made and published? From internal evidence, it is certain that the later Greek edition of Matthew (and *a fortiori* the Aramaic original) was composed before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). For, had the Evangelist been certain that the destruction of Jerusalem was not to be closely coincident with the Judgment *parousia* and the consummation of the world, he would in all probability not have juxtaposed them as he did in his perspective in Matt. 24. But his having so closely juxtaposed the two events in the Great Eschatologic Discourse arose from an ignorance which he himself is the first to emphasize: "But of that day and hour (= the consummation of the world) no man knows, no, not the angels of Heaven" (Matt. 24:36). Had the Matthean Gospel been written after 70, it would have been clear to its author that the end of the ancient Jewish commonwealth was not to be coincident with the close of the Messianic Kingdom of God; indeed, he

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 25, 3; see also Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* LI, 4–6.

would have plainly realized that this would rather mark the beginning of the greater extension of the latter.

But, whilst Lagrange and the majority of Catholic scripturists content themselves with defending the pre-70 composition of Matthew, Belser [2] ventures on a closer determination of that date. Basing himself on the testimony of Eusebius: "Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, when he had to go elsewhere, by leaving in writing in his mother tongue the Gospel by himself, by this writing compensated those from whom he was departing for the lack of his personal presence." [3] Thus (argues Belser), Luke says of Peter, upon the latter's delivery from prison: "Peter going out (= leaving Jerusalem) went unto another place (= Rome)" (Acts 12:17). Now this happened in 42, when Herod Agrippa I instituted his persecution of the Judean Christians to gain the favor of the Pharisaic party. Coincident with this was a general exodus of the Apostles. Matthew, having been outstanding in preaching Christianity to the Jews, would certainly have been forced to flee Palestine [4] at that time. Matthew's Gospel also, be it noted, is pointedly militant against the Pharisees. It would follow, then, that the Aramaic Matthew was composed before 42 or 44.

42. Ireneus Difficulty.—A difficulty against this theory, and against such early composition of the Aramaic Matthew, arises from Ireneus' words: "Matthew indeed [having preached] amongst the Jews, moreover (*καί*) put forth a Gospel writing in their own language, whilst Peter and Paul were evangelizing and founding the Church at Rome." [5] Pope suggests an evasion of the difficulty, saying the anomalous first *καί* (which is not translated in the ancient versions)

2 *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, pp. 29–30 (ed. 1905).

3 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 24 (See text in Appendix II, p. 72). Compare the expression with Luke's indicating Peter's departure from Jerusalem (Acts 12:17): *καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον.*

4 St. Matthew is supposed to have died in Egypt at Khartoum near the Nile. Thence his relics are said to have been brought by British merchants to St.-Pol de Leon in Brittany. From there, Roman soldiers brought them to Ostia, and then to Pæstum. In the 10th century, they are supposed to have been brought to Salerno.

5 Ireneus, who wrote 174–189, is cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 8. See above, Art. 1, note 6.

indicates that a clause or at least a verb has been lost from the text, and that the original probably was to be read somewhat as follows: "Matthew indeed *wrote* amongst the Jews in their own language, and carried out [of Palestine, ἐξήνεγκεν] a writing of the Gospel whilst Peter and Paul were evangelizing and founding the Church at Rome." Thus, the synchronism would apply only to the time of bringing the Matthean Gospel text out of Palestine, not to the time of its composition.

But it seems better to acknowledge here frankly that Irenæus is in error with his synchronism. The καί indicates that, besides preaching as the other Apostles did,[6] Matthew also wrote. An emendation adding another verb, "wrote," would demand the definite article before γραφήν. Again, Paul was *not* associated with Peter in the *founding* of the Roman Church. In fact, this Church, having been founded by Peter (perhaps about 42–43), was a full-fledged Christian community when Paul prepared to visit it for the first time (58–59; see Romans 1:8). It has been conjectured that here, as in some other places, Ireneus follows an erroneous[7] chronology, of which there seem to be other traces in early patristic writings.

43. Date of Greek Matthew.—When was the Aramaic original of Matthew's Gospel translated and edited in the present canonical Greek Matthew? The answer to this inquiry is intimately connected with the Synoptic Problem. If the author of Mark used the Greek Matthew, the translation of Aramaic Matthew must be set very early—before 43. On the other hand, if the translator of Matthew used Mark (of which some find indications), then of course the Greek

[6] This had been the topic of Ireneus' text just before.

[7] The Biblical Commission's wording of *Dub.* III of its decisions on Matthew (*Acta Apost. Sedis,* III, p. 294) discounts the testimony of Ireneus on this point. This erroneous chronology might be termed Eusebian. One feature of it is that the first arrival of Peter at Rome is placed about 55 (adopted by Harnack); another that Peter and Paul arrived at Rome *together,* as likewise their death is taken to have occurred in the same year, sometimes in 55, sometimes in 57. Recent investigations seem to show that Peter may have been martyred at Rome in 64, and Paul a year or so later at the same place.

Matthew must have been composed subsequent to Mark. The answer depends altogether upon how the undeniable points of contact between Mark and the Greek Matthew are diagnosed. Belser holds that Mark (writing about 44) used the Aramaic Matthew and had not the Greek version thereof, as otherwise he would have improved his own composition from the better Greek of Matthew. On the other hand, Belser would maintain that Luke used Mark, of course, and both the Aramaic and the Greek Matthew, chief evidence for the latter being that the Greek of Matthew and Luke in many cases agrees against that of Mark. In this theory, the Greek Matthew would have been edited not later than 59–60.

Art. 3: THE "SOURCES" OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

44. "Two-Source" Theory.—It has been claimed that the Greek Matthew, the actual canonical Gospel, is a compilation made by its editor-translator from an Aramaic Matthew or *Q* (*uelle*) and Mark, or a Proto-Mark. In this hypothesis, *Q* would be an Aramaic collection of Christ's words and discourses. Excerpts from this hypothetical collection would have been skillfully fitted into an historical skeleton or framework of Christ's deeds and movements derived from Mark. The evidence cited for this hypothesis consists primarily of the similarities traceable between Matthew and Mark,[1] the fact that Matthew is written in a Greek superior to Mark's, and the testimony of Papias, that "Matthew wrote the *logia* in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."[2]

45. Papias Text Overworked.—In this text of Papias, as the chief basis of the "Two-Source" hypothesis, the words τὰ λόγια (the sayings) have been interpreted as referring only to words or discourses of Christ, to the exclusion of a narrative account. The contention is apparently confirmed

1 See Chapter V on "The Synoptic Question" for full discussion of this matter.

2 Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39. See Greek text in Appendix II, p. 72.

by the fact that Papias himself composed a work in five books, entitled Λογίων Κυριακῶν Ἐξήγησις,[3] which is lost. Probably also with a motive of identifying them somehow with the hypothetical *logia,* certain Oxyrrhyncus papyrus fragments have been named "Sayings of Jesus."[4]

But, is it indeed certain that the expression τὰ λόγια of the Papias text restricts the Matthean writing to Christ's words or discourses only? In classic Greek, the term λόγια was used to designate "answers of oracles, prophecies." In Christian writings, the term, often more specifically designated with a qualifying adjective (as τὰ θεῖα λόγια, or τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια), stands for either the Sacred Scriptures generally, or more particularly for prophetic writings. In Rom. 3:2 it is used as an equivalent for the whole Old Testament. It is there pointed out that the Jews rightly deserve a special regard, "first of all because to them were entrusted τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ." Clement of Rome (about 95) wrote: "You, my dearly beloved, well understand the Sacred Scriptures and have gazed deeply into God's λόγια."[5] In Eusebius, the term τὰ θεῖα λόγια or τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια is continually used for variety's sake as the equivalent of γραφή or τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα in the sense simply of "Scripture" or "Holy Writ."[6] The conclusion is that the Matthean writing referred to by Papias as τὰ λόγια contained, not only words and discourses of Christ, but also acts and movements, just as narrative and speech are commingled in other Scriptures which are similarly designated as λόγια by early Christian writers. *Logion* is used to designate Holy Writ, not

[3] See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 39 (Migne, *P. G.,* XX, col. 296). Papias' work, however, seems to have contained also narratives.

[4] The following, with its many conjecturally filled *lacunæ,* is a sample of these "Sayings of Jesus": "Jesus saith: 'Let him not cease, who s[eeks . . . until] he has found, and when he has found [he shall be astounded and asto]nished he shall rule as king, an[d having reached the kingdom he shall] rest.' " See art. "Agrapha" in *Catholic Encyclopedia;* Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrrhyncus Papyri* (London, 1904); Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten,* pp. 363–367 (Tübingen, 1923).

[5] Clemens Rom., *Ad Corinthios,* 53 (Migne, *P. G.,* I, col. 316). See also Clemens Alex., *Stromata,* I, 392; Origen, *De Princip.,* IV, 11; Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.,* I, 8, 2, in which last passage the term refers to the Gospels.

[6] See "Note on the Eusebian Use of 'Logia' " in *Biblica* of July, 1926 (Vol. VII), pp. 301–310.

because the content of the latter is exclusively discourses, but because formally it is all, both narrative and discourse, "God's Word."

46. Papias Logia Identical With Matthew.—The work referred to by Papias can be no other than that known as the Gospel according to Matthew for the following reasons: in the 2nd century, no writing other than the Gospel is attributed to Matthew; there is not the slightest trace of any other work of Matthew which might have contained only words or discourses of Christ; on the other hand, the Matthean Gospel could well be called *τὰ λόγια κυριακά*, because it contains more and lengthier discourses of Christ than the other Gospels.

47. Absurdities of "Two-Source" Theory.—Mark has indeed more vigorous and primitively crude language than the Greek Matthew. But this does not prove that the original from which Greek Matthew was translated was later than Mark. One can imagine Mark, Peter's disciple, abridging Matthew and eliminating from his work Jewish particularities of no interest to the Romans. One can similarly imagine Luke, the disciple of Paul, supplementing the memoirs of the earlier Evangelists and striving to make up for the chronologic order these lack. But one can scarcely conceive Matthew, himself an Apostle and an eyewitness, taking as guide in many passages a simple disciple, paraphrasing Mark, translating Luke into less elegant Greek, and breaking up Luke's chronologic arrangement. Matthew, the publican, was the first to write a Gospel, as Magdalene, the sinner, was the first to announce the Resurrection.

Art. 4: LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

48. Basically Semitic.—The Greek of the canonical Matthew gives many an indication of being a translation from a Semitic tongue. Thus, for example, Hebrew and Aramaic easily use the verb "to go" pleonastically, without attaching any special meaning thereto. Greek Matthew has Christ telling the Pharisees: "*Go* and learn what 'I want mercy and

not sacrifice' means" (Matt. 9:13). In Matt. 15:25, the Syro-Phenician woman had already drawn nigh and was in conversation with Christ, when it is said of her that "she came and adored." Frequent, and characteristically Aramaic, is the use of καί in the sense of a *waw* of apodosis to denote a relation or state. Thus, in Matt. 8:21, the disciple asks permission "to go *and* to bury" his father (= to go in order to bury). Peter asks: "How often shall my brother offend against me, *and* I shall forgive him?" (Matt. 18:21: = ". . . yet I should forgive him?"). In the garden, Christ awakens His disciples, saying (Matt. 26:45): "Behold the hour has come, and the Son of Man shall be delivered into the hands of sinners" (= the hour when the Son . . .). The frequent καὶ ἰδού (and behold) does not mark a consistent order of events; rather in the majority of instances it is used simply to bespeak attention for what follows.

The Greek of the First Gospel is less crude and primitive than that of Mark, but does not come up to the elegance of Luke. The Greek translator handles his text freely.

49. Not Narrative, but Argumentation.—Matthew definitely writes *ad arguendum.* Hence he condenses and gives narrative details quite secondary consideration. He seems ever in haste to make his controversial point: he hurries over Christ's actions to come to His words which will serve as the key to understanding the act, or is anxious to cite the prophecy which connects an incident with the end-object of his Gospel. Thus, he has a weakness for the categorical or indefinite plural. Where Luke records the tempting demon as saying: "Say to this stone that it become bread" (Luke 4:3), Matthew has: "Say that these stones become bread" (Matt. 4:3). In Luke 11:13, the Father is said to "give a holy spirit to those who ask Him"; in Matt. 7:11: "good things." Where Luke says: "One of the thieves who were crucified together with Him blasphemed Him" (Luke 23:2), both Matthew (27:44) and Mark (15:32) seem to have both thieves insulting.[1]

[1] It is not, however, to be concluded that, when Matthew has a two-person group in an incident (such as the possessed Gadarenes, the blind

Art. 5: PLAN AND CONTENT OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

50. Purpose of Matthew.—Matthew's primary purpose is unmistakable: to demonstrate that Jesus was the Christ, that is to say, the Messias promised to the Jews; that He founded the eternal Kingdom of Heaven guaranteed to true Israel; and that, if He was not recognized by the greater part of the Hebrew nation or its chiefs, it was because the Jews, solidly entrenched in their prejudices and obstinate against the divine advances, had excluded themselves from the Kingdom into which soon the Gentiles would be impressed[1] in their place. To this end, Matthew is solicitous primarily to show that in Christ were indeed fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies regarding the Messias; to show, moreover, that Christ was a divinely authorized legislator promulgating a Code which but perfected the Mosaic Law. The miracles adduced as wrought are but proofs of Christ's Messianic power. If, as St. Thomas says, "inter evangelistas Matthæus præcipue versatur circa humanitatem Christi,"[2] it is because he knows his readers to be concrete, carnal-minded Jews, who cannot realize that God might find a way to combine the lowliness of humanity with the effulgent glories of Divinity.

In order to develop his thesis in the very country where the great central events had taken place, there was no need of insisting on the details of happenings and the actual interrelationship of incidents, nor was it necessary to fix the accomplishment in its exact setting of time and place. The first hearers of the apostolic message, at Jerusalem and in Palestine, had themselves been witnesses of facts which had reëchoed throughout the land. Under the circumstances, it was sufficient that a Gospel, recapitulating previous preach-

men at Jericho), where Mark and Luke mention only a single person, that such are cases of the categorical plural. It is more probable that there were in reality two persons in such groups, one of whom was chief actor or spokesman in the incident.

[1] "'Go therefore to the cross-roads, and invite whatsoever ones you find to the marriage-feast.' And his servants going out gathered in all whom they found, both bad and good" (Matt. 22: 9–10).

[2] Aquinas' opening words of his commentary on Matthew.

ing, should by preference present the teachings of the Master, grouping them under certain chief themes, without being meticulous about the particular circumstances of each discourse.

It is true that Matthew's Gospel in parts seems to be deliberately a polemic against Phariseeism. This is because Phariseeism was the chief obstacle to Christ's recognition amongst the Jews. Matthew's Gospel does not lower the Jews. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be called a Judeo-Christian apology. When Christ is pictured as not destroying but rather fulfilling the Law, it is not thereby insinuated that the Mosaic Code in its literal fullness is to be preserved (as Judeo-Christians later contended). Rather, Matthew's Gospel does not open this question. It is enough to note that the Master's parting command is, not "Go, teach all nations to observe the Law," but rather: "Go, teach all nations to practise whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matt. 28:20). There is no indication as yet in Matthew's Gospel of the Judeo-Christian controversy which was to become so acute in St. Paul's time. Indeed, Matthew's Gospel might be considered as a prophylactic against the near-future Judeo-Christian error, since it tended to justify the disestablishment of the Synagogue and the abolition of the Mosaic ceremonial legislation in favor of a worldwide Christian Code for all the scattered true children sharing in the ancient promise to Abraham.

51. Plan of Matthew's Gospel.—Thoroughly artificial—in the sense of being laid out with a deliberately reasoned, rather than a natural-chronological object in view—is the plan of Matthew's Gospel. Five times, and at considerable intervals, there is found between sections the stereotyped transition-phrase: "And it came to pass that when Jesus had finished these sayings" or "parables" or "instructing" (Matt. 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1). Did these phrases originally mark chapter divisions of the Book? Whilst the matter contained between any two such phrases can sometimes be seen to be grouped under a leading idea, still in other places (for example, between the Childhood and the Baptist's Ministry,

and the Sermon on the Mount) where a distinction-phrase seems called for, it is not found.

One might possibly trace in broad outline a five-fold division of Matthew's Gospel, showing Christ forth respectively as Promised King, Legislator, Thaumaturgus, Prophet, and High-priest. The ten miracles recorded after the Sermon on the Mount are not chronologically related, being simply joined by vague transition-phrases without historical precision.

52. The Kingdom of Heaven.—Prominent in practically every chapter of Matthew is the word, or at least the thought, of "the Kingdom of Heaven" (ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν). "Of Heaven" is of course primarily a reverential Jewish substitute for the divine Name,[3] whilst secondarily it insinuates the time-place—where and when this Kingdom shall achieve its perfect stage. The chief idea conveyed by this phrase is that Christ has come to establish an organization of mankind under His leadership and command as King. Like the ancient Davidic kingdom of the Jews (whose renewal or reëstablishment somehow these had been taught by the prophecies to expect in the Messianic season), this Kingdom is represented as having definite boundaries and qualifications of citizenship. Its establishment has begun with Christ's coming, nay, preparatorily with the Baptist's ministry. Some of the contemporaries of Christ shall already behold its fuller development and worldwide spreading. They "shall not taste death before having seen the Son of Man coming into His Kingdom" (Matt. 16:28; see Mark 9:1), as moderns might say "coming into an inheritance." Christ sought to wrest the supremacy of the earth from the "Prince of this World," whilst He walked, taught, suffered and died amongst men. He was invested with His hard-won kingship at the Ascension, by His inthronization thereupon in Heaven.[4] But the conquest of earth, to bring it all under Christ's rule, which He had begun with His personal presence in human flesh, will not be completed as long as time lasts. The struggle to attain ever wider boundaries for, and deeper allegiance to, this King-

[3] Mark and Luke prefer the direct naming, "Kingdom of God".
[4] See Nos. 419–425 in the section on the Apocalypse.

dom will be continued throughout the ages of history by "the children (= members) of the Kingdom" (Matt. 8:12; 16:28; Mark 9:1; Luke 9:27), who are at the same time "members of the [Mystical] Body of Christ," which in Pauline phrase is identical with the Kingdom of Heaven—which is the Church.

53. Eschatological Aspect of the Kingdom.—It must never be forgotten in reading the Scriptures that the Kingdom of God, the Church, may be considered under either of two aspects: in its *inchoative,* temporal, earthly stage, or in its *perfect,* eternal, heavenly stage. Under the former aspect, the Kingdom is subject to imperfections; the Cockle grows amongst the Wheat; the Foolish Virgins are associated with the Wise; various fishes, both good and bad, are caught in the Net; the Kingdom itself changes and develops as the Mustard-Seed to the full-grown plant; it permeates and livens the world as the Leaven does the measures of meal. But in its final stage, which begins with the Last Judgment, when the Sheep are separated from the Goats, and the Man Without a Wedding Garment is cast out from the Marriage-Feast, the Kingdom will be presented as the Church "without spot or wrinkle" (Eph. 5:27), the perfect City of God, the eventual New Jerusalem, in conformity to the unchanging "new Heaven and new Earth" (Apoc. 21:1), whilst the cockle shall be burnt, and the non-conforming forces and followers of disorder will be definitely "cast out into exterior darkness where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt. 8:12). Since what is *ultimum in executione* is, according to the Scholastic dictum, generally *primum in intentione,* so also in the Gospel presentations of the Kingdom of Heaven its eschatalogic or final phase is frequently mixed in with its primary and inchoative aspect, Christ Himself speaking now of one and now of the other.

In another way also, ἡ βασιλεία has a twofold significance. In the first place, we may find an analogy for the term in the French *royaume* or simply "kingdom," in the sense of a definite organization, a grouping of members, as in the parable (Matt. 13:41): "And they shall remove from His

Kingdom all scandals and them who work wrong." In the second sense, "kingdom" is taken as *règne,* as God's governing jurisdiction and rule offered to man as a favor or grace, as in the threat to the hard-hearted Pharisees: "The divine rule (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) shall be taken from you and given to a nation (ἔθνει in singular to avoid the over-irritating "Gentiles") which shall yield the fruits thereof" (Matt. 21:43). The word is used in both senses in a single passage of Mark (10:14): "Suffer the little ones to come unto me and hinder them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . Whoever will not receive God's rule (τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ) like a little child, shall not enter therein."

54. Kingdom Characterized as Order.—But ever and always is the Kingdom of Heaven represented as the Kingdom of Light, as opposed to the rebellious *thóhu-wabóhu* of Darkness; as the formed organization of Order, opposed by the defective, vicious, relatively formless elements of Disorder and Chaos. In historic time, this light-phase, which began with the coming of the "Orient from on high" (Luke 1:78), is as a dawning, with the light-rays, as it were, still struggling against the swirling clouds and *tenebræ* of night. But from age to age the rising light grows stronger and clearer, till it shall achieve its fullness at the Second Coming of the Sun of Justice, Christ, in the bright blaze of the unclouded perpetual noon-tide of Eternity.

55. Groups of Kingdom Teaching.—The discourses, miracles, and other acts of Christ are in Matthew again and again grouped and pointed to illustrate some phase of the Kingdom of Heaven. Five such great groups of discourses with their leading ideas are indicated here: 1) the Principles of the New Kingdom and its Righteousness (chapters 5–7); 2) the Apostolate of the Kingdom (chapter 10); 3) Parabolic Description of the Kingdom as to its Origin, Conditions, and Development (chapter 13); 4) Mutual Relationship of the Members of the Kingdom (chapter 18); 5) the Consummation of the Kingdom (chapters 24–25). Minor subdivisions occur frequently in groupings of three, seven, ten: thus, three duties, alms, prayer, and fasting, are impressed in Matt.

6:1–18; seven *væ* are pronounced on the Scribes and Pharisees in Matt. 23; ten miracles are conjoined in chapters 8–9. Such artificial arrangement is characteristically Semitic.

Art. 6: CANONICITY OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

56. Patristic Testimony.—As was explained elsewhere,[1] the divinely inspired nature of any writing is not demonstrable from internal evidence. Being derived from an act of the supernatural order, an act of grace or free favor of God, the characteristic of inspiration has to be made known by God, or be revealed. The Church, treasuring the deposit of the body of divine revelation, alone can decide definitely whether or not a given Book is to be considered as of divine authorship, or belonging in the "canon" or list of inspired writings. That the "Gospel according to Matthew" heads every list of the inspired Books of the New Testament, may be seen elsewhere.[2]

But it is well to adduce also some of the early testimony showing that the members of the primitive Church already considered Matthew's Gospel as an inspired writing, by quoting texts therefrom as having value on a par with Old Testament passages. Such testimonies, moreover, will often indicate the substantial identity of the canonic Matthean Gospel with its original which has since perished.

Clement of Rome (95–98) writing as Pope to the faction-troubled Corinthian congregation at a time when St. John the Apostle was still alive, says: "For, if the Lord so lowers Himself, what shall we do who through Him have stepped under the yoke of grace?"[3] The allusion seems to be to Matt. 11:29–30: "Take My yoke upon you . . . for, My yoke is easy. . . ." In another passage[4] the same writer

[1] See Vol. I, p. 8.

[2] See above, Part I, art. 6 ("The Canon of the New Testament"); also Vol. I, pp. 24–26.

[3] Clement, *Ad Corinth*, XVI, 17. The play upon the word refers to the ancient custom of making conquered captives walk beneath a yoke upheld by two spears; hence the terms *sub iugum mittere, subiugare,* "to subjugate".

[4] Clement, *Ad Corinth.*, XXIV, 5.

seems to allude to both a Matthean text and a Pauline passage: "The sower goeth forth, scatters them on the ground, and the scattered bodies which fall withered and naked into the soil, go into corruption." Compare with Matt. 13:3: "The sower went forth to sow," and I Cor. 15:37, 42: "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die first . . . thou sowest . . . but bare grain, as of wheat. . . ."

Ignatius the Martyr (died 110–117): "The tree is known by its fruits; thus also those who confess themselves to be Christians, are recognized by what they accomplish"[5]—an allusion to Matt. 12:33: "By the fruit the tree is known." In another letter Ignatius writes: "However, your prayer to God will bring it about that I may receive the lot which the mercy [of God] has bestowed upon me, as I take my refuge in the Gospel as in the flesh of Christ, and in the Apostles as in the presbytery (= council) of the Church. But the prophets also let us love, because they preached looking forward to the Gospel . . . and have been counted in together in the Gospel of common hope."[6] Here the prophetic writings of the Old Testament—for "prophets" here seems to be used as נביאים in the sense of both authors and writings —are compared and put on a par with "the Gospel."

The *Epistle of Barnabas* (117–130) says: "Let us take care, therefore, that we be not found as it is written (= ὡς γέγραπται): 'Many called, few chosen'" (Matt. 22:14). *Justin Martyr* (died 167) says: "The Apostles have ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν (= in their memoirs) that are called Gospels, recorded that Jesus had thus commanded them."[7] The same early apologist witnesses to the fact that New Testament writings were read in the religious assemblies of the first Christians, together with Old Testament selections: "And on the day named after the sun there takes place the meeting in a common place of all those who dwell either in cities or in the country, and the memoirs of the

[5] Ignatius, *Ad Ephesios*, XIV, 2.
[6] Ignatius, *Ad Philadelphenses*, V, 12.
[7] Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, I, 66 (Migne, *P. G.*, VI, col. 429); see also *Apol.*, I, 31 (*ibid.*, col. 376–378), compared with Matt. 4:23 and 9:35.

Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read so long as time allows.''[8]

57. Greek and Aramaic Matthew.—It is true that the Greek of canonical Matthew is superior in purity to that of Mark, and that Mark contains more Semiticisms. But this does not prove that Matthew is not a translation from the Aramaic. In Mark's case, a Semite, accustomed from childhood to thinking in a Semitic tongue, wrote his account in an alien language, and could hardly be conscious of and thus avoid Semitic thought-forms and expressions. In Matthew's case, a translator who, if not born to the Greek tongue, at least was skillful in its management, could sit down at leisure and be careful in avoiding the gross Semiticisms of his original, although *de facto* he did not avoid them all, nor did his Greek compare with that of Luke, who was least subject to Semitic language influence, although he also shows marks of it in the preliminary chapters or ''Gospel of the Infancy.''

APPENDIX I

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON ST. MATTHEW

De Auctore, de Tempore Compositionis, et de Historica Veritate Evangelii secundum Matthæum

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum, attento universali et a primis sæculis constanti Ecclesiæ consensu, quem luculenter ostendunt diserta Patrum testimonia, codicum Evangeliorum inscriptiones, sacrorum librorum versiones vel antiquissimæ, et catalogi a sanctis Patribus, ab ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, a Summis Pontificibus, et a Conciliis traditi, ac tandem usus liturgicus Ecclesiæ orientalis et occidentalis, affirmari certo possit et debeat Matthæum Christi Apostolum, revera Evangelii sub eius nomine vulgati esse auctorem? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum traditionis suffragio satis fulciri censenda sit sententia quæ tenet Matthæum et ceteros evangelistas in scribendo

[8] Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, I, 67 (Migne, *P. G.*, VI, col. 429).

præcessisse, et primum Evangelium patrio sermone a Iudæis palæstinensibus tunc usitato, quibus opus illud erat directum, conscripsisse? *Resp.* Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III.—Utrum redactio huius originalis textus differri possit ultra tempus eversionis Hierusalem, ita ut vaticinia quæ de eadem eversione ibi leguntur, scripta fuerint post eventum; aut quod allegari solet Irenæi testimonium (*Adv. Hær.*, III, i, 2), incertæ et controversæ interpretationis, tanti ponderis sit existimandum ut cogat reiicere eorum sententiam qui congruentius traditioni censent eamden redactionem etiam ante Pauli in Urbem adventum fuisse confectam? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

IV.—Utrum sustineri vel probabiliter possit illa modernorum quorumdam opinio, iuxta quam Matthæus non proprie et stricte Evangelium composuisset, quale nobis est traditum, sed tantummodo collectionem aliquam dictorum seu sermonum Christi, quibus tamquam fontibus usus esset alius auctor anonymus, quem Evangelii ipsius redactorem faciunt? *Resp.* Negative.

V.—Utrum ex eo quod Patres et ecclesiastici scriptores omnes, imo Ecclesia ipsa iam a suis incunabulis, unice usi sunt tamquam canonico, græco textu Evangelii sub Matthæi nomine cogniti, ne iis quidem exceptis qui Matthæum Apostolum patrio scripsisse sermone expresse tradiderunt, certo probari possit ipsum Evangelium græcum identicum esse quoad substantiam cum Evangelio illo patrio sermone ab eodem Apostolo exarato? *Resp.* Affirmative.

VI.—Utrum ex eo quod auctor primi Evangelii scopum prosequitur præcipue dogmaticum et apologeticum, demonstrandi nempe Iudæis Iesum esse Messiam a prophetis prænuntiatum et e davidica stirpe progenitum, et quod insuper in disponendis factis et dictis quæ enarrat et refert, non semper ordinem chronologicum tenet, deduci inde liceat ea non esse ut vera recipienda; aut etiam affirmari possit narrationes gestorum et sermonum Christi quæ in ipso Evangelio leguntur, alterationem quamdam et adaptationem sub influxu prophetiarum Veteris Testamenti et adultioris Ecclesiæ status subiisse, ac proinde historicæ veritati haud esse conformes? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

VII.—Utrum speciatim solido fundamento destitutæ censeri iure debeant opiniones eorum qui in dubium revocant authenticitatem historicam duorum priorum capitum, in quibus genealogia et infantia Christi narrantur, sicut et quarumdam in re dogmatica magni momenti sententiarum, uti sunt illæ quæ respiciunt primatum Petri (Matt. 16:17-19), formam baptizandi cum universali missione prædicandi Apostolis traditam (Matt. 28:19-20), professionem fidei Apostolorum in divinitatem Christi (Matt. 14:33) et alia huiusmodi quæ apud Matthæum peculiari modo enuntiata occurrunt? *Resp.* Affirmative.

Date of this decision is June 19, 1911. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, vol. III (1911), p. 294.

APPENDIX II

Text of Papias' Testimony on Mark and Matthew (taken from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39, *P. G.*, XX, col. 300).

Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ [Παπίας] παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις· ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθειται διὰ τούτων.—καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευστὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ Κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων (*var.* λόγων), ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἑνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρεται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο (*var.* συνετάψατο, συνετάξατο). Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

. . . . .

Text of Eusebius' Testimony on Matthew (*Hist. Eccl.*, III, 24; Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 265).

Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἁπάντων τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ὑπομνήματα Ματθαῖος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλελοίπασιν· οὓς καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν κατέχει λόγος. Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λεῖπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου.

. . . . .

Text of Epiphanius' Testimony on Matthew and Mark (*Adv. Hær.*, LI, 4).

Ματθαῖος πρῶτος ἄρχεται εὐαγγελίζεσθαι· εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον ἀκόλουθος γενόμενος ὁ Μάρκος τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπιτρέπεται τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκθέσθαι.

CHAPTER II

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK

Art. 1: THE AUTHOR OF THE SECOND GOSPEL

58. Historic Testimony.—The authorship of the Second Gospel has been universally ascribed to St. Mark, who is furthermore generally identified with the John-Mark several times mentioned in Acts as a prominent figure in the early Church. As was the case with many Jews dwelling in Hellenistic territory (St. Paul, for example, whose Jewish name was Saul), the Jewish name of this Evangelist was "John," and his Hellenistic name "Mark."

It was to the house of John-Mark's mother, Mary, that Peter went immediately upon his miraculous delivery from the prison wherein Herod Agrippa I had cast him shortly after his accession (Acts 12:12). John-Mark is next seen as the companion of Barnabas and Paul, returning from Jerusalem to Antioch (Acts 12:25). And on the mission tour of Barnabas and Paul to Cyprus (Acts 13:5), John-Mark is along. But, for some reason, he leaves them at Perge in Pamphylia to return to Jerusalem (Acts 13:13). Thence, he seems to have later come again to Antioch, perhaps as a member of the delegation that transmitted thither the decrees of the First Council at Jerusalem. Anyhow, it is at Antioch, when he and Barnabas are planning to revisit the places of their previous mission tour and Barnabas wishes again to take John-Mark along, that Paul objects (Acts 15:37) to the latter's company, alleging his having deserted them formerly at Perge. The reason for this action on the part of John-Mark is unknown. It was not that he felt difficulty in remaining with the mission band after its leadership had practically passed from Barnabas (who was a relative of Mark's, accord-

ing to Col. 4:10) to Paul[1] after the Paphos happenings. For, at the beginning of the second mission tour, Mark evidently had no objection to laboring under Paul's orders (Acts 15:37).

It is well to recall that, before all these things happened, Mark, according to extra-biblical indications, had already had considerable mission experience with Peter, having accompanied that Apostle on his flight to Rome (where the Gospel was composed). Peter had probably baptized Mark (he calls him "my son Mark" in I Pet. 5:13). And Mark in early tradition is always considered as a familiar and confidant of Peter. The ancient Roman prologue to Mark's Gospel says: "Marcus, evangelista Dei, et Petri in baptismate filius atque in divino sermone (= the mission work) discipulus, sacerdotium in Israel agens secundum carnem Levita, conversus ad fidem Christi evangelium in Italia scripsit," and adds that "amputasse sibi post fidem (= after being baptized) pollicem dicitur, ut sacerdotio [Levitico] reprobus haberetur." Hippolytus, too, knows of Mark's crippled hand, and calls him ὁ Κολοβοδάκτυλος.[2]

Whatever differences there were at one time between Paul and Mark, they were not important enough to be chronicled by Luke, nor to engender a permanent estrangement. For Paul himself subsequently gives him a special recommendation to the Colossians (4:10), as having been one of those "who have been a comfort to" him. Elsewhere (Philemon 1:24) Paul mentions Mark as a fellow-laborer.

At the time of his second visit to Rome and towards the close of his days, Peter again had his former companion and interpreter with him at Rome (I Pet. 5:13). But, even before Peter's martyrdom, Mark seems to have left Rome to occupy the episcopal see at Alexandria in Egypt, where also, according to tradition, he was buried.

[1] In the Acts, previously to 13:8, Paul is called Saul, and, when the partners in the mission band are mentioned, it is always as "Barnabas and Saul". But after Acts 13:8, Saul is called Paul and the order is "Paul and Barnabas". Barnabas was a Cyprian and of the Levitical stock (Acts 4:36).

[2] Hippolytus, *Hær.* (*Philosoph.*), VII, 30.

59. Young Man in Garden of Olives.—Mark's Gospel is the only one which records that, at the time when Christ was apprehended in the Garden of Olives after the disciples had already fled, "a certain young man followed Him, having a linen cloth cast about his bare body. And they (= the soldiers) laid hold on him. But he, casting off the linen cloth, fled from them naked" (Mark 14:51, 52). Now it is not improbable that this anonymous "young man" was none other than Mark himself. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the incident is brought in there at all in the Gospel. It has no apparent connection with anything that precedes or follows. There is another unnamed but evidently important personage mentioned in Mark's account of the Passion: the master of the house to which a young man bears a pitcher of water (Mark 14:13–16). He is evidently a secret follower of Christ, and his house at Jerusalem is at the Lord's disposal. He is given a similar anonymous mention in Matthew (26:17–19) and Luke (22:8–13).

Now, after Christ's Ascension the house of Mark's mother at Jerusalem was undoubtedly a meeting center for the Christians (Acts 1:13; 2:1–4; 12:12). It has been conjectured that this house is identical with that in which Christ celebrated the Last Supper. Mark's father would thus have been, like Nicodemus, a secret follower of Jesus. On the night of the Pasch, his son Mark (not yet a Christian) would have been asleep in his home. The noise of the band of soldiers coming to arrest Christ in the adjoining garden would have awakened him. Throwing his couch cover about him, he would have gone down to the garden to see what the disturbance was about. Then, when seized by the arresting band, he would have fled back into the house, leaving his linen sheet in the hands of the soldiers. Perhaps he then dressed himself and followed the procedure of Christ's trials.[3]

To conjecture that the anonymous young man in the

[3] If, with Harnack, the opening line of the Muratori fragment be reconstructed as "[alio]quibus tamen interfuit", then there would be mention that Mark was eyewitness for at least some of the matters he relates. Although his Gospel is the shortest, his account of the Passion is quite as long as that of any other Evangelist.

Garden of Olives at the time of Christ's arrest was none other than Mark himself, the author of the only Gospel mentioning the apparently irrelevant incident, seems to assign a satisfactory reason for its recording.

Art. 2: INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR ST. MARK'S AUTHORSHIP

60. Mark a Jew, Contemporary of Apostles.—The language and style of the Second Gospel broadly proclaim its author's Hebrew nationality by its numerous Semiticisms and Aramaic citations. Expressions betraying the Semitic mind are: δύο δύο ("two by two," Mark 6:7), πρασιαὶ πρασιαί ("like flower-beds," Mark 6:40),[1] συμπόσια συμπόσια ("according to table-groups"). The clauses of a sentence, instead of being syntactically coördinated in good Greek manner, are merely loosely strung together with καί (for example, Mark 3:1–26) in the manner of the Semitic connective, even where there is adversative relationship between the phrases—as in Mark 12:12, correctly translated "and they sought to empower themselves of Him, *but* they feared the people" (see also Mark 6:19). Several times Aramaic expressions occur: Ἐφφαθά (Mark 7:34), Ταλιθὰ κοῦμι (Mark 5:41); note the quotation in Hebrew of Christ's prayer in His desolation on the Cross (Mark 15:34).[2]

61. Prominence of Peter in Mark.—The Second Gospel gives with all detail incidents concerning the Apostle Peter. Where other Evangelists name the Apostles as a group, Mark gives special prominence to one, Peter. The Gospel practically begins with the time that Peter joined Christ (Mark

[1] Incidentally, the characteristic minute graphicness of Mark's (or, better, Peter's) descriptions may be noted. The grass, mentioned also by other Evangelists, is specifically said to have been "green".

[2] The crudeness of Mark's Greek may be taken as another indication of the early composition of his Gospel—after his first coming from Palestine with Peter to Rome. On the occasion of his second presence in Rome with Peter, after a score of years of mission experience in Hellenistic countries, Mark should have had better command of the *koiné* tongue.

1:16). Then the cure of Peter's mother-in-law is mentioned (Mark 1:29). "Peter and those with him" go out in the morning to find Christ (Mark 1:36). In Mark's account of the Transfiguration, Peter's mental state is described: "He knew not what he should say" (Mark 9:6). Similarly, in the incident of the cursed fig-tree, it is emphasized that "Peter remembered" (Mark 11:21). In the Passion and Resurrection accounts Peter stands out. Elsewhere Peter appears again and again as the leader in questioning the Lord.

An interesting indication is the fact that incidents which would tend to enhance esteem for Peter, such as the conferring of the primacy (compare Mark 8:29 with Matt. 16:16 and John 21:15), the commission to "confirm his brethren" in the faith (Luke 22:32), Peter's walking on the waters (compare Mark 6:47–51 with Matt. 14:22), Christ's paying the tax for both Himself and Peter (Matt. 17:23–26), are omitted or related with Peter's part not so emphatic as in the other Gospels. Contrariwise, all the details in any way discreditable to Peter are ruthlessly drawn out in Mark's Gospel, even where they are minimized or passed over by the other Evangelists. This is particularly the case for Peter's denial of Christ. Thus, over Mark's shoulder, as it were, one perceives Peter in his humility supervising the composition so that his own shortcomings and weaknesses, rather than his distinctions, are brought out.

It has been noted already that Mark, in all likelihood, was not an eyewitness of the events of Christ's life—at least not of those previous to the Passion. Nevertheless, his account reads like that of an eyewitness. Εὐθύς ("immediately" or "straightway") occurs over forty times in his narrative. There is meticulous attention to detail (note the "cushion" mentioned in the storm account, Mark 4:38), vivacity of picturization, swift movement of thought, which all well befit the lively, impulsive character of Peter, and may readily be recognized in Peter's catechetical discourses recorded in Acts (compare Acts 1:16–22; 2:14–36; 3:12–26; 4:8–12; 10:36–41, etc.). There is the same immediate seizure of practical,

concrete facts with presentation of striking contrasts, as also in the Petrine Epistles.

Art. 3: THE DATE OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

62. Mark after Matthew.—With the newer biblical critics, especially non-Catholics, it has been the fashion to accord the priority of Gospel composition to Mark—or at least to a Proto-Mark—chiefly on internal data. But the unassailable evidence of tradition points to the fact that Mark wrote his Gospel after the composition of Matthew's (at least in its Aramaic original), and before that of Luke. Thus, Epiphanius says: "Matthew was the first to make a beginning of gospel composition; immediately after Matthew, Mark, having been a follower of Peter at Rome, was entrusted with setting forth the Gospel." [1]

As for the date of Mark's composition, subscriptions to later uncial and cursive MSS. assert that it was written in the 10th or 12th year after Christ's Ascension, an opinion held also by Theophylact. The general trend of patristic evidence is to the effect that Mark's Gospel was written during Peter's lifetime, and indeed received the formal approval of that Apostle.[2]

63. Papias' Evidence.—In dating the composition of Mark's Gospel, the much-discussed Papias fragment again is important. Papias is reported by Eusebius [3] as saying: "And this moreover the Presbyter said: 'Mark, having been (*or* become) Peter's interpreter wrote down exactly whatsoever he remembered of the things said and done by Christ, although indeed not in [chronological] order. For he himself had neither heard the Lord nor followed Him [as His disciple]: but later on, as I said, [as a disciple he followed] Peter, who gave instructions according to needs, but not as one who makes a systematic arrangement of the Dominical *logia*. Neverthe-

[1] Epiphanius (died 403), *Adv. Hær.*, LI, 4, 6; see Greek in Appendix, p. 72.

[2] See testimonies cited in Article on "The Synoptic Problem."

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39 (see Greek in Appendix, p. 72).

less, Mark was not at all at fault in thus writing down some things as he remembered them. He made a point of one thing: to omit nothing of the things he had heard, and not to state falsely anything thereof.' "

Of similar import is the testimony of Clement of Alexandria (died after 202): "The Gospel according to Mark had this origin: as Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and had declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who had been present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and who remembered his sayings, should write them out. And he, having composed the Gospel, gave it to those who had asked for it. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade it nor encouraged it."[4] St. Jerome complements this with: "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote at the petition of the brethren in Rome a brief Gospel according to what he had heard Peter preaching. And, when Peter heard of this, he approved it and of his own authority ordered it to be read in the churches."[5] Similar is Eusebius' own account:[6] "So greatly did the splendor of religion illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a disciple of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written memorial of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease till they had prevailed upon the man, and had thus become the occasion for the written Gospel which bears Mark's name. And they say that Peter, when he had learned through a revelation of the Spirit of that which had been done, was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches."

64. Summary of Tradition.—Now, what conclusions relative to the date of the composition of Mark's Gospel may be

[4] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 14, 5–7.
[5] Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.*, VIII.
[6] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 15. He alleges Clement of Alexandria and Papias as his authorities.

drawn from the above testimonies? It seems clear that Mark composed his Gospel whilst he was at Rome with Peter and acting as the latter's interpreter. But Peter was *twice* at Rome: the first time from 42–43 to 44–45,[7] and again from 63–64 to the date of his martyrdom in 67 (?). Which of these two occasions would seem to fit best the details given as synchronizing with the Markan Gospel's composition? When Peter was in Rome the second time, some twenty years after his first brief visit, he knew Greek well enough to write his Epistles (I and II Pet.). Evidently he would not at that time have needed an interpreter to translate his Aramaic discourses into Greek for the Roman Christians. Moreover, Mark was *not* at Rome shortly before Peter's death, having been absent perhaps since 64 (II Tim. 4:11; Coloss. 4:10).

Far different was the case when Peter, fleeing from imprisonment at Jerusalem, first came to Rome in 42–43. Then indeed John-Mark (to whose home in Jerusalem Peter came after his miraculous jail delivery, just before setting out for Rome, Acts 12:12) was needed by Peter as a traveling companion and interpreter. What more natural than that, when Peter was preparing to return to Jerusalem, his constant companion should be requested by the Roman neophytes to leave them a written account of Peter's preaching? Hence it would not seem out of place to date the composition of Mark's Gospel as early as 44.

65. Ireneus Difficulty.—But here again, as with Matthew, the text of Ireneus is at variance with the rest of tradition. For he says: "After their (Peter and Paul's) death (ἔξοδον), Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, has handed down to us, he also in writing, the things which were preached by Peter."[8] As was noted previously,[9] this testimony, as far as its date indication is concerned, is probably to be rejected. At best, with Belser, one might say that the reference is not

[7] In the second year of Claudius, according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 15.

[8] Ireneus, III, 1; Greek in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 8; text given in Appendix, p. 91.

[9] See above, Part II, Chapter I, Article 2 ("Date of St. Matthew's Gospel").

so much to the writing as to the publication of Mark's Gospel in the Church at large. Mark's Gospel may have been a private treasure of the Roman community, till it was spread elsewhere after Peter's and Paul's martyrdom.

Art. 4: PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

66. Mark's Opening.—Without inquiry as to the "how" or the "whence" of Christ's person (with truly Petrine impetuosity and directness, one might say), Mark plunges almost immediately into the events of the Public Ministry, with only a brief introductory sketch of the Baptist's work. He omits all reference to Christ's birth and childhood—probably because the mystery of the infantile weakness of Him whom Mark is to emphasize as "God's Son," would have been quite unintelligible to the power-loving imperial and imperious Romans.

Mark's Gospel opens with the words: "The beginning of the glad-tidings of Jesus Christ, *the Son of God.*" The next two verses, containing an Isaias citation, are probably best considered as an ellipsis—the point being that Christ's formal mission and its announcement to the world began with the Baptist's preaching. Another interpretation is: that Mark states he will record how Christianity *began* with Christ's own life, rather than how it was *continued* and promulgated by the preaching of the Apostles. The former opinion receives confirmation from the ἐγένετο (it came about) of Mark 1:4 and the statements of 1:14–15.

Mark opens his Gospel with the clear declaration that Christ is the "Son of God." One is tempted to see herein a corrective of the tendency to confer predicates of divinity upon the Roman Emperor—a tendency which was soon to eventuate into a regular religious cult of the Emperor. Thus, a laudatory inscription erected at Pergamon during the very lifetime of Cæsar Augustus to whom it was dedicated, reads: "To the self-empowered Cæsar, son of god, god Augustus,

Overseer of all the earth and sea."[1] Nero, who was to make Emperor-worship familiar to the Romans, was addressed thus on a votive inscription at Magnesia: ". . . son of the supreme of the gods, Claudius Tiberius."[2] Later on the imperial cult was to become a most serious question, and was directly faced by the writer of the Apocalypse. But Mark's usage, at least unconsciously, prepared his Roman readers for the difficulties to come. Christ Himself, in Mark's account, never directly uses the expression "Son of God" of Himself, but always refers to Himself as "the Son of Man"—as if in deliberate contrast to the extravagant divine titles which the Emperors at that time were already beginning to arrogate to themselves, "god, divinity, lord, saviour of the world." And, as the Emperors gloried in the designation *Αὐτοκράτωρ*,[3] as having attained and exercising their eminent rule without help of or responsibility towards anyone (even God), so Christ, contrariwise, emphasizes continually that His dignity and function have been received from the Father who sent Him (Mark 9:27; Luke 4:43; John 5:33, 36, 38).

67. A Narrative for Romans.—There is no specific polemic or apologetic purpose recognizable in the Second Gospel. It is simply a straightforward narrative, chiefly of Christ's deeds. Romans were traditionally men of action rather than of argument. The deeds of Christ are recorded therein more prominently than His words. And throughout Christ's *power* is continually urged. As one reads swiftly through the Markan account, the *power* of the Son of Man is impressed on one by the account of castings out of demons and cures of diseases, showing Christ's command (*imperium*) over the forces of nature and of the netherworld. The Baptist's message in Mark begins with "The one stronger than I (ὁ

[1] See Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 295.

[2] Whilst, in the Orient, the divinizing of living rulers had already gone far, it was not until about Nero's time that it became practically compulsory to acknowledge the Emperor's divinity even at Rome. The inscription quoted dates from the time between Nero's adoption by Claudius (=50) and his own accession to the throne (=54).

[3] As one example of numerous cases, an Oxyrrhyncus papyrus of A.D. 1 mentions sacrifices and offerings *ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος* (= Augustus). Cfr. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

ἰσχυρότερός μου) shall come after me" (Mark 1:7). The crowds remark that He orders the demons "with authority" (κατ' ἐξουσίαν, Mark 1:27). In contrast to the actual manifestation of divine power, Mark emphasizes continually Christ's dislike of glorying therein, or of receiving the applause and admiration of the crowd. Those who are cured of sickness or from whom demons are expelled (and these expulsions are a feature of Mark's), are ordered by Christ not to spread the news abroad. Thus, the ways of Christ, true "Son of God," are quite a contrast to those of the Roman Emperors, self-styled "sons of god" and "saviours of the world," who blatantly had their benefactions to mankind proclaimed on marble slabs in the Hellenistic cities. Mark also continually notes the popularity of Christ, His democracy: "I have pity on the multitude" (Mark 8:2); how He suffers Himself to be pushed and jostled by the eager crowds.

68. Jews in Mark.—Specifically Jewish phases of Christ's life and teaching are minimized in Mark. His book is not intended for Jews so much as for Gentiles. Aramaic terms are carefully translated; Palestinian local geographical details are noted; Jewish religious customs, like "the washings of cups and of pots, etc." (Mark 7:3–4), are explained. Christ's clashes with the Pharisees and their practices are mentioned indeed; but it is in such a manner that one suspects that the Evangelist (or Peter in his discourses) was aiming, not so much to confute Jewish objectors, as to attract those many ex-heathens who at Rome were "proselytes of the gate" [4]—that is, those who had embraced the monotheistic and more spiritual beliefs of the Jews, but had not taken on themselves the burden of the full ritual observances of the Mosaic Code. What kept these proselytes from progressing further, was undoubtedly the onerous observance of ritual cleanness, etc., as so rigidly interpreted by the Pharisaic exegesis. Mark, then, in his Gospel makes it clear that the followers of Christ,

[4] These were the θεοσεβεῖς, or φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (see Acts 10:2, 22). In the theater at Miletus, they apparently had a bench assigned them with the Jews, unless the word in the seat inscription be taken as an appositive of the Jews themselves (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, pp. 391, 392, Tübingen, 1923).

whilst having the essential spirituality of the Jews' religion, were not to be bound by the burdensome Mosaic ritual obligations.

69. Sadducees in Mark.—As Christ in Mark's narrative passes from Galilee to Jerusalem territory, a changed political atmosphere, hostile and hard, seems to surround Him. In Galilee, He is beloved by the people; in Judea, the jealousy of the Sadducean or highpriestly party sets up a barrier of bitterness, trying to entrap Him with subtle questionings. The Pharisees' objection is found somewhat also in Galilee (for the Pharisees were not subversive, and were revered by the common folk). But the objection of the unbelieving sceptical, educated Sadducean clique (whose members were largely of the priesthood) was different. Did they have a premonition that Christ's work meant the finish of their dignity and function? It would almost seem so, when we note the vindictiveness of Annas and Caïphas at Christ's trial, their determination to accomplish His destruction at all costs. And the Sadducees were hand in glove with the Herodians in political interest. The Pharisees did and always would oppose Christ argumentatively; but the Sadducees were determined to destroy Him utterly. It was the Temple guard that arrested Christ in the garden (Mark 14:43, 47). It was agitators of the highpriestly party (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) who stirred up the mob to ask for Barabbas' release, and to cry for Christ: "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" (Mark 15:11–15). It is their biting rationalistic sarcasm: "Others He saved, Himself He cannot save!" that seeks to embitter the sufferings of the dying Christ (Mark 15:31–32).

70. Apostles in Mark.—The Second Gospel stresses the instruction and preparation of the Apostles by Christ. Mark wants to show that Christ's emissaries, preaching to the Romans, were indeed worthy of credence. That he also brings out their dullness of understanding and slowness to believe, is but a confirmation of the main point. It tended to show that the Apostles had not lightly or thoughtlessly come to the convictions which they were now placing before others for acceptation on their word.

71. Plan of Mark.—Mark's Gospel belies its origin in Peter's preaching. It is a narrative of disconnected incidents. Roughly, it might be divided into three sections: (I) Introduction: Baptist's mission, Christ's baptism (Mark 1:1–13); (II) Christ's Galilean work (Mark 1:14—9:50), which may be subdivided as follows: (a) Christ's activity till the Apostles are chosen (Mark 1:14—3:13); (b) from the choosing of the Twelve to their mission (Mark 3:13—6:13); (c) Christ's more special instruction of the Apostles (Mark 6:14—10:31); (III) Christ's final journey to Jerusalem, His solemn entry there, arrest, Passion, death, resurrection, and ascension (Mark 10:32—16:20).

Art. 5: THE CONCLUSION OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

72. Diversity in MSS.—All witnesses for the Markan text are unanimous in its reading until Mark 16:8, closing abruptly with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ (for they were afraid). The following twelve verses constituting what is called the "Long Ending," found in the present *textus receptus,* are wanting in many ancient MSS. Some of those, and some versions, have in their place "short endings." The following is a summary of the evidence on the matter.

Against "Long Ending": It is omitted by *Vaticanus* (*B*) and *Sinaiticus* (ℵ), the two most important old Greek codices, and also by Syrsin, all of which close with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. By the Latin *Codex Bobbiensis* (*K,* 5th century) a "shorter ending" is substituted.[1] Similarly, *L* (9th century)[2] and several other lesser Greek MSS. show that their originals ended with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, but that the copyists knew also of two other endings, one long and one short—and the shorter form

[1] The close of Mark 16:8 is somewhat changed, too: "Illæ autem cum exirent a monumento fugerunt. Tenebat enim illas tremor et pavor propter timorem. Omnia autem, quæcumque præcepta erant, eis, qui cum Petro erant, breviter exposuerunt. Post hæc et ipse Iesus adparuit et ab oriente usque ad occidentem misit per illos sanctam et incorruptam prædicationem salutis æternæ. Amen."

[2] *L*'s short ending is the same as that of ψ, given below.

was placed first in supplement. ψ immediately gives the shorter ending: "But all the things concerning Peter announced to them they carefully declared. After these things Jesus also Himself from the East even unto the West declared through them the sacred and incorruptible preaching of eternal salvation."[3] A third ending is that of the Detroit MS.,[4] running as follows: "And they alleged in their defense: 'This world of iniquity and incredulity is under dominion of Satan, who permits not that what is under the control of impure spirits should receive the truth and power of God. Reveal, then, now Thy righteousness!' This is what they said to Christ. But He answered them: 'The term of the years of Satan's power is fulfilled. But terrible things draw nigh. For them that sinned was I delivered up to death that they might be turned to the truth and sin no more, that so they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness in heaven. But go ye . . .'"

Already in Eusebius' time, the long ending was doubtful, and accurate copies closed with the words: "For they were afraid."[5] St. Jerome says of the long ending: "in raris fertur evangeliis, omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, præsertim cum diversa atque contraria Evangelistis ceteris narrare videatur."[6]

The language of the short endings is, if anything, even more un-Markan than that of the long one—which lacks the Markan introductory *καί*, and has *πρώτῃ σαββάτου* instead of *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων* (Mark 16:2), *ἐθεάθη*, etc. Over twenty words in the "Long Ending" are not found elsewhere in Mark.

For "Long Ending": Almost all the extant uncial Greek MSS., *A, C, D, E,* etc., all the cursives, and all the Old Latin version MSS. (except *K,* mentioned above), the Vulgate,

[3] Greek text in appendix, p. 91.

[4] Discovered at Cairo in 1897: see *Revue Biblique* for July, 1908. This ending was known to St. Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.,* II, 15.

[5] Eusebius, *Adv. Marinum,* q. I.

[6] Jerome, *Epist. 120 ad Hedibiam,* 3. Nevertheless, the same authority in a later writing (*Con. Pelag.,* II, 15) admits that the long ending is found "in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in græcis codicibus."

Peshito, Curetonian Syriac, the Heraclean, Gothic, Ethiopian, Sahidic and Bohaïric versions, as well as the Greek evangeliaries—all have the "Long Ending" of the present canonic Mark.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (64–66) may have had in mind Mark 16:19 (*καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ*), when he wrote (Heb. 1:3): *ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*. Likewise Heb. 2:1–4 (especially because of the words: *εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη, συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ σημείοις*) seems to be comparable with Mark 16:20 (*τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ . . . σημείων*).

Ireneus states:[7] "At the end of the Gospel Mark says: 'And the Lord Jesus, after He had spoken to them, was taken up into Heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God.'" Tatian also knew the "Long Ending," and probably also Justin,[8] Lactantius,[9] and Hippolytus.

Internal evidence for a community of authorship of the "Long Ending" with the rest of the Second Gospel may be seen in the emphasis on the expulsion of demons (Mark 16:9, 17), the unbelief of the Apostles (Mark 16:11, 13, 14), and the working of miracles (Mark 16:16–18).

73. Theory Proposed.—What conclusions may be drawn from the evidence given above? First, that Mark's Gospel did not originally end with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, but likewise that something happened to whatever followed these words so as to make the ending doubtful. It has been conjectured that Mark was suddenly obliged to interrupt his writing at the point *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*; that much later he resumed writing the conclusion with the present long ending, and that meanwhile copies of the abruptly stopped Gospel were made. This seems hardly a probable hypothesis. If conjectures be admissible, it would seem more probable to say that Mark indeed normally finished his Gospel with some account of the post-Resurrection appearance and ascension; that the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* were the last on one sheet of papyrus; that what

[7] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, III, 10, 6.
[8] Justin, *Apol.*, I, xlv.
[9] Lactantius, *Epitome*, XLVII.

followed in Mark's original was on another sheet, and that this sheet became detached,[10] lost, or illegible; that later from memory, assisted by the other Gospels, some one made a restoration of the original ending, but not before some copies had been made with the abrupt break. Meanwhile, someone else had attempted to round off the close with the paragraph now known as the "Short Ending."

74. Author of Present Conclusion.—Considering the evidence, both external and drawn from the awkwardness of an abrupt break-off at ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, scarcely any one will be found to maintain that the author of the Second Gospel intended it to close with those words. Everything points to the opinion that Mark wrote a real conclusion to his work. On the other hand, no one maintains that the "Short Ending" came from Mark's hand. If the "Short Ending" does not date back to Mark, then Mark's conclusion must be either the "Long Ending" or some other entirely unknown one. But antiquity knows nothing of any ending to Mark's Gospel except the two mentioned. The "Short Ending" being excluded, then it would seem that by elimination the "Long Ending" must be ascribed to Mark.

But, both the internal evidence of the language used and the external one of omission or substitution in the MSS. makes one hesitate to say that the present "Long Ending," as it stands, comes from the hand of Mark himself, even though one may readily admit that it represents substantially what Mark himself originally wrote—towards which point the Markan style characteristics already noted. This hesitation is confirmed, if not justified, by the following.

In an Armenian evangeliary of the Etschmiadzin monastery (discovered in 1891), copied in 989, the space of two lines is left vacant after Mark 16:8; then the hand of the same copyist adds in red: "Ariston's the Presbyter's," followed by the usual Mark 16:9–20 or "Long Ending." This "Ariston" may be identifiable with the Aristion whom Papias

[10] A difficulty here is that the sheet with the conclusion of a papyrus book-roll came on the *inside*, where it would be most protected.

mentions [11] as a contemporary of the Apostles who survived them to his time. This man may have been asked to restore from memory the original, lost Markan conclusion. In any case, the present "Long Ending" is a substantial replica of the original conclusion of the Second Gospel, and its authorship may be ascribed to Mark in much the same manner as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews must be assigned to Paul.

APPENDIX I

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON MARK AND LUKE

De Auctore, de Tempore Compositionis, et de Historica Veritate Evangeliorum secundum Marcum et secundum Lucam

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum luculentum traditionis suffragium inde ab Ecclesiæ primordiis mire consentiens ac multiplici argumento firmatum, nimirum disertis Sanctorum Patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum testimoniis, citationibus et allusionibus in eorumdem scriptis occurrentibus, veterum hæreticorum usu, versionibus librorum Novi Testamenti, codicibus manuscriptis antiquissimis et pene universis atque etiam internis rationibus ex ipso sacrorum librorum textu desumptis, certo affirmare cogat Marcum, Petri et discipulum et interpretem, Lucam vero medicum, Pauli adiutorem et comitem, revera Evangeliorum quæ ipsis respective attribuuntur esse auctores? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum rationes quibus nonnulli critici demonstrare nituntur postremos duodecim versus Evangelii Marci (Marc. 16:9-20) non esse ab ipso Marco conscriptos sed ab aliena manu appositos, tales sint quæ ius tribuant affirmandi eos non esse ut inspiratos et canonicos recipiendos: vel saltem demonstrent eorumdem Marcum non esse auctorem? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

III.—Utrum pariter dubitare liceat de inspiratione et canonicitate narrationum Lucæ de infantia Christi (Luc. 1-2), aut de apparitione Angeli Iesum confortantis et de sudore sanguineo (Luc. 22:43-44); vel solidis saltem rationibus ostendi possit—quod placuit antiquis

[11] Papias says: "I would inquire . . . ἄ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν" (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39; Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col., 297).

hæreticis et quibusdam etiam recentioribus criticis arridet—easdem narrationes ad genuinum Lucæ Evangelium non pertinere. *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

IV.—Utrum rarissima illa et prorsus singularia documenta in quibus Canticum *Magnificat* non beatæ Virgini Mariæ, sed Elisabeth tribuitur, ullo modo prævalere possint ac debeant contra testimonium concors omnium fere codicum tum græci textus originalis, tum versionum, necnon contra interpretationem quam plane exigunt non minus contextus quam ipsius Virginis animus et constans Ecclesiæ traditio. *Resp.* Negative.

V.—Utrum, quoad ordinem chronologicum Evangeliorum, ab ea sententia recedere fas sit, quæ, antiquissimo æque ac constanti traditionis testimonio roborata, post Matthæum, qui omnium primus Evangelium suum patrio sermone conscripsit, Marcum ordine secundum et Lucam tertium scripsisse testatur, aut huic sententiæ adversari vicissim censenda sit eorum opinio quæ asserit Evangelium secundum et tertium ante græcam primi Evangelii versionem esse compositum? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

VI.—Utrum tempus compositionis Evangeliorum Marci et Lucæ usque ad urbem Ierusalem eversam differe liceat; vel, eo quod apud Lucam prophetia Domini circa huius urbis eversionem magis determinato videatur, ipsius saltem Evangelium obsidione iam inchoata fuisse conscriptum, sustineri possit? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

VII.—Utrum affirmari debeat Evangelium Lucæ præcessisse librum *Actuum Apostolorum* (Act. 1:1-2); et cum hic liber, eodem Luca auctore, ad finem captivitatis Romanæ Apostoli fuerit absolutus (Act. 28:3, 30-31), eiusdem Evangelium non post hoc tempus fuisse compositum? *Resp.* Affirmative.

VIII.—Utrum, præ oculis habitis tum traditionis testimoniis, tum argumentis internis, quoad fontes quibus uterque Evangelista in conscribendo Evangelio usus est, in dubium vocari prudenter queat sententia quæ tenet Marcum iuxta prædicationem Petri, Lucam autem iuxta prædicationem Pauli scripsisse; simulque asserit iisdem Evangelistis præsto fuisse alios quoque fontes fide dignos sive orales sive etiam iam scriptis consignatos? *Resp.* Negative.

IX.—Utrum dicta et gesta, quæ a Marco iuxta Petri prædicationem accurate et quasi graphice ennarrantur, et a Luca, *assecuto omnia a principio diligenter* per testes fide plane dignos, quippe *qui ab initio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis* (Luc. 1:2-3), sincerissime exponuntur, plenam sibi eam fidem historicam iure vindicent quam eisdem semper præstitit Ecclesia; an e contrario eadem facta et gesta censenda sint historica veritate saltem ex parte, destituta, sive quod scriptores non fuerunt oculares, sive quod apud utrumque Evangelistam defectus ordinis ac discrepantia in successione factorum haud raro deprehendantur, sive quod, cum tardius venerint et scripserint, necessario conceptiones menti Christi et Apostolorum extraneas aut facta plus minusve iam imaginatione populi inquinata referre debuerint, sive demum quod dogmaticis

ideis præconceptis, quisque pro suo scopo, indulserint? *Resp.* Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad alteram.

See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis,* vol. IV (1912), p. 464. Date of this decree, June 26, 1912.

APPENDIX II

Text of Ireneus' Testimony on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (about 180-190: taken from *Adv. Hæreses,* III, i, 2; cited in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* V, 8; Migne, *P. G.,* XX, col. 449).

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν Εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε, καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

. . . . .

Text of Shorter Ending in etc.

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

CHAPTER III

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE

Art. 1: THE AUTHOR OF THE THIRD GOSPEL

75. Luke's Name and Life.—The third Gospel account, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, has been unanimously ascribed to the Luke mentioned several times in St. Paul's letters (Col. 4:14; Philem. 1:24; II Tim. 4:11) as his companion. Λουκᾶς is a diminutive or pet form of the name which in all probability was the Greek transcription of the Latin *Lucius*.[1] Already Eusebius seems to have identified Luke with the Lucius of Rom. 16:21. This would not necessarily imply that Luke was a Jew (which is improbable from Col. 4:11, compared with Col. 4:14). For St. Paul's explanatory οἱ συγγενεῖς μου may apply only to the two immediately preceding names, Jason and So(si)pater.

The diminutive name form in *-ās* was common for slaves. Luke may possibly have been a freedman (of Theophilus?). Physicians (such as Luke seems to have been) were generally slaves, and there are cases on record where grateful masters freed them. It remains uncertain, nevertheless, whether Luke was a Greek or Oriental who had taken a Latin name, or a Roman freedman who had been given the *prænomen* of *Lucius*.

As to place of origin, Luke's parents seem to have been of Antioch, of which Eusebius is the first witness: Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας.[2] The Latin prologues to the Third Gospel confirm this. Compiling these various pro-

[1] See the inscription proofs of this in Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 372 *ss.* Belser's theory of *Lucanus* can scarcely be maintained now, even though the old Latin codices *Corbeiensis* and *Vercellensis* have: *Evangelium secundum Lucanum.*

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, iv, 6 (Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 220); see also *ibid.*, II, xxii, 6 (*P. G.*, XX, col. 196).

logues,[3] one obtains the following information: "Luke is a Syrian of Antioch, a physician by profession, and a disciple of the Apostles. Afterwards, he followed Paul until the latter's martyrdom. Serving the Lord without offense, he had neither wife nor children. He died at the age of 84 in Bœotia,[4] filled with the Holy Ghost. Since Gospels had already been composed by Matthew in Judea and by Mark in Italy, being inspired by the Holy Ghost he wrote this Gospel in the Achaia[5] district, making known in his prologue that others had already been written, and that he found it necessary to set down the whole plan (= *dispositionem,* οἰκονομίαν) in his own account for the Greek believers, lest they be held up by Jewish fables in the desire (of the Law?), or fall from truth by being seduced by heretical fables and 'foolish pleadings,' etc." The relics of St. Luke were transferred from Thebes to Constantinople (A.D. 357) under the Emperor Constantius II.

76. Luke a Physician.—St. Paul's term applied to Luke in Col. 4:14 (ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός) seems to indicate that the Apostle of the Gentiles made use of Luke's services as physician. The testimony of tradition on Luke's profession is confirmed from internal evidence in his own writings. Luke manifests great interest in diseases and their cure. And, in speaking of these, he frequently uses the terminology of ancient physicians. Thus he diagnoses the illness of the father of Publius, the administrator of Malta, as an intermittent fever (πυρετοῖς) combined with dysentery (Acts 28:8). The viper that bites Paul, he designates by the medical term θηρίον as explanatory of ἔχιδνα, and the penetration of its venom is indicated by καθῆψεν. The strange terms used to describe the tying of cables about the ship (Acts 27:17) to keep it from pounding to pieces, are not nautical, but medical (signifying

[3] Von Soden has published also a similar Greek text from an Athens MS., which together with many other ancient testimonies may be read in Lagrange's monumental *L'Evangile selon St. Luc* (Paris, 1921).

[4] Some have here "Thebes" or "Bithynia".

[5] Achaia proper was in the northern part of the Peloponnesus peninsula, where also is Corinth. Bœotia was in the *Roman* province of Achaia.

"to bandage"). The intransitive *ἀνεκάθισεν*, in the account of Peter's raising Dorcas (Acts 9:40), is used only by physicians in the sense of "sitting up in bed." Again, the "camel-needle" hyperbole used by Christ is given by both Luke (18:25) and Matthew (19:24) and Mark (10:25). But Luke uses for "needle" the surgical *βελόνη*, and not *ῥαφίς*, and its "eye" is called by him *τρῆμα*, and not *τρυπῆμα* or *τρυμαλία* —just as Galen has: *κατὰ τὴν βελόνην τρήματος*. The description of the cure of the paralytically crippled woman (Luke 13:11–13) is also exact. It is noteworthy that Luke's account of the woman suffering from a flux of blood for twelve years (Luke 8:43) omits the censure of physicians recorded in Mark (5:26). Lastly, it might be added that the phrasing of the prologue of Luke's Gospel seems modeled on the opening of the medical treatise of Dioscorides.

77. Luke a Painter?—Traditionally, St. Luke is the patron of Christian painters also. This ascription may be traceable to Nicephoras Callistos' note (16th century) that the Empress Eudocia "sent to Pulcheria from Jerusalem an image of the Mother of God, which the Apostle Luke had painted."[6] Otherwise, there seems to be no historic evidence available for this opinion.

Luke was in all probability a Gentile. Jewish terminology regarding the highpriest is not always exact when used by him (Acts 4:5, 6, 8). He is vague in his localization and geography of Palestine. That he was one of the Seventy Disciples, or of the Hellenes who asked of Philip to be introduced to Christ (John 12:20), or Cleophas' companion on the way to Emmäus, are all guesses that are negatived *a priori* by Luke's own statement that his information has come from eyewitnesses.[7]

78. Theophilus.—The theory that the Theophilus of Luke 1:3, and Acts 1:1, is only a rhetorically fictitious addressee has few supporters nowadays. The following reasons support the opinion that Theophilus was a real person of St. Luke's time.

[6] See Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXVI, col. 165.
[7] See below, Part IV, Art. 3 ("St. Luke and St. Paul").

In Luke 1:3, the Evangelist addresses Theophilus formally as κράτιστε—a title practically equivalent to the modern "Your Excellency" or "Your Honor." Twice elsewhere in his writings does St. Luke use this term, and each time it is applied to a person holding some official rank. Thus, in Acts 23:26, Claudius Lysias, the Roman tribune in charge of the Jerusalem garrison, in a letter to his superior, the Roman governor of Judea, addresses the latter with κράτιστος as a formal title. Similarly Tertullus, the spokesman for the Jerusalem delegation of plaintiffs against St. Paul, in his formal speech addresses the same governor (Felix) as κράτιστε. St. Paul, in his own plea later (Acts 26:25), uses the same title in respectfully addressing Festus, Felix's successor in office. It is certain that in Egypt this title was applied to the prefect (δικαιοδότης), whose jurisdiction extended to a whole province, and to the subprefects (ἐπιστρατηγοί) of any of the three districts. One concludes from this that, since κράτιστος was a technical honorific title restricted to persons of certain official rank, St. Luke could scarcely have fittingly used it to address a hypothetical group of divers social ranks.

But who, then, was this Theophilus? From his name and title, he would seem to have been a non-Jew, with at least the rank of *eques* (knight) in the Roman social order. Zahn conjectures that he was not yet a Christian at the time that St. Luke's Gospel was dedicated to him (about 60–63), because the Evangelist in the prologue still addresses him with a formal title, whilst the Christians amongst themselves used only the common appellative, "Brother." In the opening line of the Acts, written later, that earlier title is omitted.

Was Theophilus' home Antioch or Rome? He is certainly not familiar with the localities of minor Jewish importance in Palestine. For St. Luke is careful to explain the whereabouts, etc., of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Capharnaum, Naïn, etc. (Luke 1:26, 39; 2:4; 4:31; 7:11; Acts 9:38). No such explanations seem necessary for the smaller Italian places like Syracuse, Rhegium, Puteoli, Forum Appii, Tres Tabernæ (Acts 28:12–15).

Of interest in this connection is the mention in the Clemen-

tine *Recognitiones*[8] of a Theophilus of Antioch,[9] who early became a convert to Christianity and turned his magnificent house into a church wherein a *cathedra episcopalis* was erected for St. Peter's use (about 36?). But the main difficulty alleged against identifying this Theophilus with the addressee of the Lukan writings, is that the Lukan Theophilus seems to have been but a recent convert (note the κατηχήθης of Luke 1:4) about the time the Gospel was addressed to him. Thus, he might have been a fruit of St. Paul's two-year missionary activity at Rome spoken of in Acts 28:30–31. On the other hand, St. Peter was succeeded in the *cathedra* at Antioch in the year 42 by Evodius—which would demand that Theophilus' conversion would be set much earlier.

However, the aorist κατηχήθης (you were instructed) in Luke 1:4, is not specific enough in its time implication to establish for certain the conclusion drawn therefrom that Theophilus' instruction in Christianity was necessarily of recent occurrence at the time of the Gospel's composition. Indeed, one would not be surprised to find St. Luke, himself a citizen of Antioch and surely well acquainted with that city's leading Christians, dedicating his writings concerning the life and works of Christ and of His ambassadors to an old believer who had shown such favor towards the Church, and who had already in his early days been well instructed by the apostolic oral catechesis, but who had never yet had available a *written* account of the origins of Christian teaching. Of course, St. Luke's dedication of his writings to Theophilus no more precludes their being really addressed to all Christians, and particularly to the Pauline converts, than the dedication of a

[8] The following is Migne's Latin text of this passage: "Tantam itaque Spiritus Sanctus in illa die gratiam suæ virtutis ostendit, ut omnes a minimo usque ad maximum una voce confiterentur Dominum; et, ne multis immorer, intra septem dies plusquam decem millia hominum credentes Deo baptizati sunt et sanctificatione consecrati, ita ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suæ ingentem basilicam ecclesiæ nomine consecraret, qua Petro apostolo constituta est ab omni populo cathedra, et omnis multitudo quotidie ad audiendum verbum conveniens credebat sanæ doctrinæ quam sanitatum efficacitas affirmabat" (Clement, *Recognitiones*, X, 71).

[9] Not to be confused with the later Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (of about 170–180).

modern book to some particular friend excludes the rest of the reading public.

Art: 2: DATE OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL

79. Connection with Acts.—That the composition of Luke's Gospel preceded that of the Acts of the Apostles, written by the same author, is unassailably clear from the introduction to Acts: "The former (literally: "first") treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all things which Jesus began to do and to teach, until the day . . . He was taken up" (Acts 1:1–2). Hence also the date of Acts,[1] namely 63–64, determines the latest limit for dating the Gospel. On the other hand, the Third Gospel could not have been composed before 44, since its author admittedly made use of Mark's Gospel. Moreover, since Luke states (Luke 1:1) that various gospels or gospel-like narratives had already been compiled by predecessors, considerable time must have elapsed since Christ's Ascension to give opportunity and incentive for the composition of such accounts.

80. Early Limit.—On the other hand, Luke asserts that he made use of the reports of those "who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" (Luke 1:2). He does not indicate that these informants of his were a few doddering ancients who had survived from Christ's lifetime. Rather would he seem to imply that they were men with unimpaired memories, still well able to testify to experiences of not so long ago. Assuming that most of the Apostles were probably born at about the same time as Christ, this could hardly have been the case later than 30–40 years after Christ's death. Indeed, the "Gospel of the Infancy" or the opening chapters of Luke, as will be noted, seem to indicate personal conference with Christ's Mother.

81. Latest Limit.—Again, the fact that in Luke 3:1, the insignificant tetrarchate of Lysanias is still deemed worthy of note, seems to indicate that the reading of Luke's Gospel was

[1] See below, Part IV, Art. 2 ("The Date of the Acts").

to take place before the Roman-Jewish wars which culminated in Jerusalem's destruction. There is no indication in Acts that the author knew of Jerusalem's destruction. And surely there would Luke have availed himself of this event to point the Pauline anti-ceremonial propaganda, had the destruction already taken place at the time he wrote. *A fortiori,* then, was the Lukan Gospel written before 70. Lagrange submits 64 as a solidly probable date; Belser would maintain 61–62.

82. Place of Composition.—Belser prefers to consider Rome as the place where both Luke's Gospel and the Acts were composed, despite the fact that the prologues and other tradition sources mention Achaia or Alexandria. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Matthew,[2] says: "Tertius Lucas medicus, natione Syrus Antiochensis (cuius laus in Evangelio), qui et ipse discipulus apostoli Pauli, in Achaiæ Bœotiæque partibus volumen condidit, quædam altius repetens, et, ut ipse in proœmio confitetur, audita magis quam visa describens." But Belser would explain these testimonies by saying that after St. Paul's death Luke went to Greece, and that there his Gospel received earliest publicity.

When St. Paul (II Cor. 8:18) sends with Titus "the brother whose praise is in the gospel through all the churches, and not that only, but he was also ordained by the churches companion of our travels," he may indeed be referring to Luke, but the "gospel" he speaks of is not a written account, but the general oral preaching of the "glad tidings."

Art. 3: SOURCES OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL

83. Luke's Prologue.—St. Luke prefixes to his Gospel account a brief but formal prologue, indicating the motive of his own writing, the sources of his information, the plan he will follow, and his primary purpose. The prologue begins on a note of modesty. Both Luke himself and Theophilus whom he is addressing, know that Luke is not an Apostle nor a hearer of Christ nor an eyewitness of His deeds. This

[2] Migne, *P. L.*, XXVI, col. 18.

would seem to militate against his writing a Gospel account. However, he says, "since several[1] persons have already set hand[2] to drawing up an account of the facts that have come to completion amongst us"—not indeed as of their own original knowledge,[3] but—"according to what those who from the first were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word had handed down" (Luke 1:1–2), so Luke too felt himself justified in setting out to compile a similar work, even though he was not an eyewitness to the facts his history will record. Therefore, he proceeds: "I too, as one who has checked up everything accurately right along (*ἄνωθεν*),[4] have thought it well to write for you in order,[5] O noble Theophilus, so that you may realize the well-foundedness of the doctrines you were taught" (Luke 1:3–4).

Luke, in short, whilst not aspiring to the first-hand authority of Matthew, an Apostle, nevertheless is encouraged by the example of others to emulate Mark. No less than Mark and others will he base his account on the report of eyewitnesses and Apostolic teachers, whose statements he has had ample opportunity to gather and collate diligently.

But, who were some of these persons who had seen and heard Christ, and could thus give accurate information? Luke was at Cæsarea in Palestine with Paul for several years. At Antioch, too, he would have had many a conversation with

[1] Lagrange notes that Cicero translated *πολλοί* by *plures* in the *Timæus*. There could not have been very many complete gospel-like accounts at that early date.

[2] There is no note of censure in *ἐπεχείρησαν*. Rather the contrary. Luke's implication is: others have succeeded, hence I too may try.

[3] Of course, the Markan account fits this description exactly. But there is no implication that Luke knew nothing of Matthew's work. No; he takes it for granted that an Apostle's, an eyewitness's writing is on an unassailable, unmatchable, superior plane. He simply argues that, since others besides the Apostles had written valuable accounts, he can do so too.

[4] The sense given for *ἄνωθεν* is more probable than the other of "from the very first"—which latter is tautologic with *πᾶσιν*—unless there be implied a contrast to Mark's Gospel, which omits everything previous to Christ's baptism.

[5] Here *καθεξῆς* refers indeed to the manner of composition to be followed, but it does not necessarily imply that the work shall be absolutely chronological. "Order" does not exclude that certain facts may be grouped to bring out the logical connection, cause-and-effect.

disciples coming from Jerusalem, who had seen and heard Christ. The intimate details of Luke's first two chapters, the "Gospel of the Infancy," could have come from but one source: Mary, the Mother of Christ. And Luke himself indicates this by remarking twice (Luke 2:19, 51) that "Mary, His Mother, kept all these things in her memory." Moreover, these first two chapters have a number of Aramaic turns and expressions. Joanna, wife of Herod's procurator, Chusa (Luke 8 :3), as well as Manahen, the foster-brother of Herod (mentioned in Acts 13:1 as amongst the Christian teachers at Antioch), may also have supplied considerable information in connection with that king (cfr. Luke 9:9, 13:31, 23:6–12). At Cæsarea, Luke must have met the deacon Philip (Acts 21:8). James, the "brother of the Lord" and Bishop of Jerusalem, must also have been known to Luke, as also Peter and the disciple Barnabas, and the Apostle John.

84. Luke and Mark's Gospel.—In his prologue, Luke makes it plain that, previously to his writing, others had composed Gospel accounts. As he mentions these writings of others, it seems probable that Luke himself had read some accounts of this kind, which consequently might be considered as written sources for his own work. The first question that arises is: Did Mark's Gospel serve as a source for Luke's? The answer perhaps properly belongs in a study of the Synoptic Problem. Levesque grants that Luke knew the Roman oral catechesis upon which Mark is based. A great many non-Catholic critics would have it that Luke used a written proto-Mark not identical with the canonic Gospel. Lagrange would maintain that, despite numerous divergencies in order and language between Mark and Luke, "the similarity is so close that one is obliged to conclude that Luke had Mark under his eyes and made use thereof. . . . We regard the dependence as literary. . . . Luke knew Mark and followed him as an excellent guide—but he had his own purpose. He did not intend to make a mosaic of all the information he could gather. . . . On the one hand, he added considerable to Mark. On the other, he did not use everything (of Mark's), and even transposed." [6]

[6] Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon St. Luc,* p. xlviii (Paris 1921).

As evidence for his position, Lagrange adduces the order of the pericopes, the similarities of style, and the doublets, chiefly as found in the "Markan sections" of Luke. Thus, he compares the following:

A. Luke 4:31—6:19 with Mark 1:21—3:12.

Here Luke follows Mark step by step in a series of fifteen pericopes, whilst he frequently varies from Matthew.

B. Luke 8:4—9:50 with Mark 4:1—9:41.

Again eighteen pericopes exactly in the same sequence, with an addition (Luke 8:19–21) which is in fact a transposition (Mark 3:31–35).

C. Luke 18:15—21:38 with Mark 10:13—13:37.

Twenty-three pericopes faithfully following the lead of Mark, without even a transposition.

But this whole matter is open hypothesis, and the above are but a few indications of the lines along which investigation of this matter may be conducted.

Lagrange finds greater difficulty in establishing a literary dependence of Luke upon Matthew's Gospel, whether the Aramaic or Greek. At least Luke seems not to have known Matthew's account of the Infancy; otherwise, he might have forestalled the numerous antilogies occurring between that and his own. However, elsewhere there are some striking coincidences between Matthew's and Luke's wording. Belser insists that Luke used Matthew.

Art. 4: LANGUAGE OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL

85. Purer Greek.—St. Jerome's judgment regarding Luke's language is but borne out by recent studies. He informed Pope Damasus: "Lucas igitur, qui inter omnes Evangelistas Græci sermonis eruditissimus fuit, quippe ut medicus et qui Evangelium Græcis scripsit, quia se vidit proprietatem sermonis transferre non posse, melius arbitratus est tacere quam id ponere quod legenti faceret quæstionem."[1] First of

[1] Jerome, *Epist. xx*, 4 (Migne, *P. L.*, XXII, col. 378): Pope Damasus had asked about the word *Hosanna*.

all, Luke, although he does not achieve, nevertheless approaches to the Greek periodic style—something Matthew and Mark never do. Thus, what Mark simply juxtaposes, Luke will weld together by throwing the finite verbs of Mark's clauses into participles. Mark's rudimentary καί is changed to δέ, and this is often in Greek counterbalanced with its complementary μέν. Lagrange indeed holds that often Luke rewrote and corrected the very text of Mark. More than that of the other New Testament writers does Luke's vocabulary resemble St. Paul's. Both are men of culture.

86. Biblical Phraseology.—"Of the three Synoptics," says Lagrange, "Luke is undoubtedly the one having most Hebraic turns of expression." Nevertheless, Luke does not cite even a single text according to the Hebrew. But he had an intimate acquaintance with the Septuagint: the whole Old Testament for him announced the death and glory of Christ (Luke 24:27). And thence was derived his frequent biblical phraseology. Luke seems to have striven to elevate his style beyond the plain everyday *koiné*. Yet, the old classic historians seemed unfitting models for his sober, careful account. Therefore, he chose the somewhat archaic solemn forms of the Septuagint, already consecrated to recording divine history.

Art. 5: PURPOSE OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL

87. Addressed to Gentiles.—Wiseman well noted: "St. Luke's parables are addressed more towards forming the moral character of the Church already established—as symbolizing the sacred Humanity." This latter is a characteristically Pauline feature, by the way. The parables whose point in Matthew and Mark is directed against the Pharisaic Jews, are by Luke turned rather to indicate the welcome of the Gentiles. The tendency to show the establishment by Christ of the Kingdom of God to replace the ancient Davidic theocracy, is supplanted by the endeavor to illustrate the actual functioning of Christ and His organization for mankind's welfare. As Wiseman again says of Luke: "His ob-

ject is to place before them (the Hellenists) the high standard of morality of Christ, and exhibit the beauty of His religion by its influence on the character and nature of man."[1] Like the great Apostle of the Gentiles whose disciple he was, Luke preferably calls the Saviour "Lord"—a title viewing Christ rather as reigning in Heaven over the universe than as living and walking amongst men. He insists, likewise, on the necessity and efficaciousness of faith, the universality of the Redemption, on the merit of alms-giving and of evangelical poverty, as well as on the generosity due the Apostolic ministers.

Matters that might shock the ignorance of the Gentiles or occasion the Jews to glory over them, are passed over in silence. Instead of contrasting the "children of God" with the despised *goyim* ("the nations" or "Gentiles"), as does Matthew, Luke uses in place of the latter the more generic term, "sinners." He has gathered and preserved a number of incidents passed over by Matthew, which would touch the hearts of the heathens and awaken their confidence: salvation promised Zacheus and the Good Thief, the pardon of the Prodigal Son and of the Sinful Woman, the preference accorded to the Publican over the Pharisee and to the Samaritan over the Priest and the Levite, Christ's praising Gentiles on several occasions, His prayer for His executioners, and the centurion's confession of faith at Christ's death upon the Cross. In short, the Third Gospel might have had at its head, as a theme-motto, the words read by Christ from Isaias in the synagogue at Capharnaum: "The bruised reed He shall not break, nor the smouldering flax extinguish" (Matt. 12:20; Is. 42:3).

88. Not for Jews.—Luke's readers are not assumed to be familiar with the language, customs or geography of Palestine. No word of Christ's is cited in Aramaic or Hebrew. *Rabbi* is replaced by "Master," *Hosanna* by a paraphrase. Localities are designated by Greek names: the mount "called 'of Olives'" for Gethsemani; the village "named Bethlehem"; the *Pasch* is the "Feast of Unleavened Bread." Luke like-

[1] Card. Wiseman, *Essays*, I, pp. 141, 160.

wise notes that Arimathea is in Judea, and Capharnaum in Galilee, and remarks the distance from Jerusalem to Emmäus. Christ is represented rather as the Saviour of Mankind than as the Messias of the Jews. His genealogy is not traced through the formal descent of the kings of Juda, but by a collateral line (Mary's?) to David. Matters of local and temporary interest, like the long discussions of the Pharisees with Christ, are generally avoided by Luke.

89. **Consideration Shown Roman Administration.**—As later in the Acts, so already in his Gospel, Luke pays attention to the officialty and functioning of the great Roman Empire. Roman legionaries, officers, procurators, vicarious native rulers, and Cæsar himself, appear in his pages. A special point is made of the justice of the tax tribute demanded by Rome (Luke 20:20–26). At Christ's trial the accusation that Jesus was a revolutionary inciting the populace against the rule of Rome, is again brought forth and clearly shown to be naught. Pilate finds no guilt in Him, and strives to have Him liberated. Pilate's ultimate cowardly concession to the Sanhedrites is mitigated as much as may be (Luke 23:2 *ss.*). The participation of Roman soldiers in the mocking and execution of Christ is passed over in discreet silence. Everything which might be interpreted as indicating any conflict or clash of Christ's teachings and work with the established order of government and society is avoided. In this sense, a certain apologetic tendency might be ascribed to Luke's work.

If Matthew presented Christ to the Jews as their Messias, and Mark to the Romans as the Son of God, then Luke may be said to show Him forth to the Hellenists—that is to say, to the whole civilized world—as the Saviour of Mankind. The Man-God appears in Luke's Gospel as the merciful, pitying, tender Divine Physician.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN

Art. 1 : TRADITION ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL

90. Earliest Allusions and Citations.—Both the thought and the language of the Fourth Gospel are so characteristic that allusions thereto in the early writings are easily recognizable. St. Ignatius of Antioch in his letters (dating from either 107 or 115) does not name the Fourth Gospel, but has some locutions that seem to have been derived from it. Thus, Ignatius, *Ad Philadelph.*, VII, 1, is reminiscent of John 3:8; *Ad Eph.*, V, 1, of John 17:23, etc.[1] The *Psalms* or *Odes of Solomon* are a Christian composition from Antioch, generally dated about the beginning of the 2nd century. Ode XXX, 1–2: "Fill yourselves with the waters of the living fountain of the Lord, for it is open to you. Come, all you that thirst, take the drink of and rest yourselves at the Saviour's fount," may be compared with John 7:38 *ss.*, and John 4:10. The heretic Marcion published his artificial New Testament probably between 139 and 144. He, of course, rejected the Johannine Gospel, but does not seem to have altogether refused to use it in compiling his own. He rejected the Fourth Gospel, not as spurious, but discards it despite its being written by an Apostle: "Conititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur," says Tertullian. St. Justin's *Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon* is dated 135 at Ephesus; there, in XCI, 4, there is an allusion to the brazen serpent as a symbol of the Cross, apparently inspired by John 3:15 *ss.* Athenagoras composed his *Apology* about 177. In Chapter X, he sketches the Logos doctrine according to the Fourth Gospel: "But

[1] See Greek text in Appendix II to this Chapter.

the Son of God is Word of the Father in concept (ἰδέᾳ) and energy; for Him and through Him all things came about; the Father and the Son being one, the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son in unity and power of spirit, the Son of God being mind and Word of the Father" (see John 1:1–3, 10:30, 14:1).

Ireneus (died 202) saw Polycarp, who was martyred on February 23, 155. Writing possibly about 185, he said: "Thereupon John, the disciple of the Lord, who also rested upon His bosom, he too published a Gospel whilst staying at Ephesus in Asia." Ireneus' writings abound in references to John's Gospel, and he states that it was written against Cerinthus.

The Alogi.—About the beginning of the 2nd century, an obscure and small group of persons reacting extremely against Montanism began to deny the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, as Ireneus says: "Alii vero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quæ est secundum Iohannis evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et evangelium et propheticum repellunt Spiritum."[2] Hence, Epiphanius gave them the name of *Alogi,* punning on the two senses of this word—"senseless" and "denying the *Logos*" with which John's Gospel opens. At Rome, a certain Caius had a controversy with the Montanist Proclus on this matter during the pontificate of Pope Zephyrin (198–217).

91. The Muratorian Canon.—The original of the Muratorian Canon was admittedly composed at Rome about the year 200. It gives extraordinarily great attention to the Fourth Gospel, as if pointedly combating the *Alogi.* The following are the lines referring to John's Gospel, given as they stand, without corrections:

Quarti evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis.
Cohortantibus condescipolis et ēps suis
dixit conieiunate mihi: odie triduo et quid
cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum

[2] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.* III, xi, 9.

nobis enarreums eadem nocte reve
latum Andreae ex apostolis ut recognis
centibus cuntis iohannis suo nomine
cunta discribret et ideo licet varia sin
culis evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur nihil tamen differt creden
tium fidei cum uno ac principali spu de
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de nativi
tate de passione de resurrectione
de conversatione cum decipolis suis
ac de gemino eius adventu
primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo
u secundum potetate regali pre
clarum quod foturum est. quid ergo
mirum si iohannes tam constanter
sincula etiā in epistulis suis proferat
dicens in semetipsū quae vidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audivimus et manus
nostrae palpaverunt haec scripsimus [vo]bis
sic enim non solum visurem sed et auditorem
sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dnī per ordi
nem profetetur.....

The same Canon's notices on Luke and Acts have only six lines each. The Fourth Gospel is given as much space as all the Pauline Epistles, and even there the author refers back to John:

48 Apostolus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui
iohannis ordine non nisi comenatī semptāē
eccleses scribat.....
57 .....et iohannis enī in a
pocalebsy licet septē eccleseis scribat
tamen omnibus dicit.....

It is easy to see herefrom that the writer is very much taken up with John, and engaged to defend him. It is chiefly against the Roman Caius that at least this part of the Canon is directed. In the notice on John's Gospel, the remark anent the harmony of the Gospels despite their variations, is an argument pointedly directed against the chief objection of Caius. The latter had urged the different arrangement of the happenings after Christ's baptism; and this is alluded to by the *varia principia,* referring, not to any prologues or dedications, but to the *beginnings of* Christ's *public ministry,*

where John's account diverges remarkably from that of the Synoptics, by placing (for example) the call of the first disciples on the banks of the Jordan instead of in Galilee. The *geminus adventus* perhaps answers a difficulty that John replaces the Synoptic *parousía* by a mere interior "coming" of Christ and the Holy Ghost into man's soul. The opening lines of the Muratorian Canon with their anecdote of John's having other disciples and bishops (Elders?) associated with him in the Gospel's composition, are probably intended to forestall objections that might be raised from John 21:24–25, which embodies a solemn attestation by companions to the authenticity of the Evangelist's account. *Suo nomine* shows that, whatever share these others might have had, the responsibility for the account rests upon the Apostle John himself. The mention of Andrew is not a clumsy slip, when one recalls that Peter, Andrew, and John are closely associated in the Gospels, and, after Peter's martyrdom, Andrew would be expected to continue the intimacy.[3] Another and altogether proper indication of the late time of composition of the Fourth Gospel is the presence of the *condiscipuli* (Elders?) and *episcopi,* indicating the well-developed ecclesiastical organization of Asia Minor.

92. Place of Composition.—Clement of Alexandria, finally, may be quoted as summarizing the opinion of earliest times in regard to the author of the Fourth Gospel, at the same time that he already emphasizes its peculiarly sublime, "spiritual" character. He states as a tradition received from the Elders (perhaps he too, as did Ireneus, read this in Papias) that "John the last [of the Evangelists] noting that in the [other] Gospels the bodily matters [*i.e.*, concerning Christ's humanity] were narrated, at the request of acquaintances, being inspired by the Spirit composed a spiritual Gospel."[4] According to Clement also, John appointed bishops in Asia Minor, thus agreeing with what Ireneus says of Polycarp.

[3] Papias even mentions Andrew first in his list of Apostles. See following Article.

[4] Cited by Eusebius in *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 14 (Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 552). See Greek text in Appendix II to this Chapter.

The sojourn and death of John at Ephesus seem undeniable, and it is generally assumed, as Ireneus states expressly, that John also wrote his Gospel there. But St. Ephrem in his commentary on the *Diatesseron* says: "John wrote it (his Gospel) in Greek at Antioch, for he continued on earth to Trajan's time."

John's grave was pointed out of old at Ephesus, and a pretty legend had grown up about it in connection with the ancient belief of this Apostle's immortality (arising from Christ's promise in John 21:19). It is related without credence by St. Augustine:[5] "Asserat apostolum Ioannem vivere atque in illo sepulchro eius quod est apud Ephesum, dormire eum potius quam mortuum iacere contendat. Assumat in argumentum quod illic terra sensim scatere et quasi ebullire perhibetur; atque hoc eius anhelitu fieri, sive constanter sive pertinaciter, asseveret."

93. Objection of an Early Death.—The Fourth Gospel in its appendix itself indicates that it was composed after the martyrdom of St. Peter, by commenting: "And (Christ) said this to indicate by what kind of death he (Peter) was to glorify God" (John 21:19). Now the difficulty is raised: How can John, the son of Zebedee, have written the Fourth Gospel, when he was martyred in Palestine long before Peter's death? And for this position the following texts are adduced.

First of all is cited Christ's prophecy of Mark 10:39 (see also Matt. 20:23) that the two sons of Zebedee would drink His chalice and be baptized with His baptism. But, when Luke notes (Acts 12:2) the martyrdom of James the Greater (John's brother), he has no remark to make about any prophecy being thereby fulfilled. But, it is urged, Papias witnesses to John's early martyrdom. The text referred to is a fragment (of Philip Sides, about 430?) published by de Boor: "Papias in his second word (book?) says that John the Theologian and James his brother were killed by the Jews."[6] Whoever wrote this, never read in Papias "John

[5] Augustine, *In Ioann.*, tract. cxxiv, 2 (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXV, col. 1970).

[6] See Greek text in Appendix II to this Chapter.

the Theologian''—for that title was not given the Apostle John till centuries later in the heading of some Apocalypse MSS. Papias would hardly have dared to say that John was killed with his brother, contrary to the authority of Acts 12:2, and St. Paul's statement (Gal. 2:9) that he found John at Jerusalem about the year 50.

Similar to the above is the Georgios Hamartolos (9th century) fragment, also published by de Boor: ''Papias, the Bishop of Hierapolis, having been an eyewitness, alleges, in the second word of the Lord's *logia,* that he (John) was killed by the Jews, clearly fulfilling with his brother Christ's prophecy concerning them.''[7] Now, it may indeed be possible that Papias wrote: ''John was killed by the Jews.'' But which John then would he have meant? Certainly Ireneus, who considered Papias a disciple of John the Apostle, did not read anything about John's early death in Papias. And in that case Eusebius, who is trying to prove Ireneus wrong on that very point, would have immediately noted the discrepancy. If Papias really ever wrote ''John was killed by the Jews,'' he might have written it mistakenly of John the Baptist.[8] The early section of Papias' work (''in the second word''), from which the reference is supposed to be taken, would be about the place where the Baptist would be spoken of.

That there is some such error in de Boors' Papias text may be suspected from similar confusions in the ancient martyrologies, which simply assign the feast to the same day. Thus, the Syrian Martyrology gives for December 27: ''John and James the Apostles at Jerusalem''; the Armenian for December 28: ''Feast of the sons of Thunder, James and

[7] See Greek text in Appendix II to this Chapter.

[8] The legend concerning his father, Zachary, may have been transferred to the son. Already St. Jerome (*Comment. in Matt.,* lib. IV; Migne, *P. L.,* XXVI, col. 179–180) notes: ''Alii Zachariam patrem Ioannis Baptistæ intelligi volunt, ex quibusdam apocryphorum somniis approbantes, quod propterea occisus sit (between the Temple and the altar) quia Salvatoris predicaverit adventum''—which, in an unpublished 9th-century fragment of Latin MS. in the writer's care, reads: ''pro eo quod adventum Domini sedule prædicaverit, a populo sit interfectus.'' Zahn cites Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adv. Iudæos,* 2: ''Ioannem interimebant (Iudæi) Christum demonstrantem.''

John''; the Carthagenian: ''VI Kal. Ian. Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ et Iacobi Apostoli.'' This last clears up the others —and is more primitive. The first idea was to group on one feast the two saints beheaded by a Herod. Later, the ''John'' written without qualification became associated easily with James, as his brother Apostle, rather than the original Baptist. On December 28, moreover, was celebrated the feast of the ascending of his *cathedra* at Jerusalem by the Apostle James the Less, who was no relative of John's. This James was, according to tradition, killed by the Jews at a riot in the Temple. His body was, also according to tradition, placed in the same tomb as that of Zachary, John the Baptist's father (himself often confused with the ancient prophet Zachary). ''De pinna templi præcipitatus (Iacobus) alliditur, effusoque fullonis fuste cerebro, spiritum reddidit, sepultusque est in Monte Oliveti, in memoria . . . in qua Zachariam et Simeonem sepelierat.''[9] It is easy to see how careless medieval pilgrims came to confuse James the Less with James the Greater, brother of the Zebedean John, and the latter with John the Baptist; and the result of such confusion explains de Boor's texts and the martyrologies.

Art. 2: JOHN THE APOSTLE OR JOHN THE PRESBYTER?

94. Text of Papias.—A study of the traditional evidence on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel cannot escape the consideration of the much-disputed text of Papias,[1] which is evidently alluded to by the Latin prologue of a 9th-century manuscript: ''Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine, Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in

[9] See P. Abel's article *La Sépulture de St. Jacques le Mineur* in *Revue Biblique,* vol. XVI (1919), pp. 480–499.

[1] Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, was born perhaps about 70 A.D., and about 125 wrote his five books of commentary on the Lord's words. He died perhaps about 150. Fragments of his writings are preserved in quotations made by Eusebius.

exotericis,[2] id est in extremis quinque libris retulit; descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte."[3] The inquiry concerns chiefly the following point: Does Papias testify to the existence of a person called "John the Ancient" (or John the Presbyter), as distinguished from John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee? The Papias text reads as follows:

"I do not hesitate," says Papias, "to set down together for you with the interpretations also whatever things I have at times well learned from the Elders and well remembered, being quite positive of their truth. For, unlike many, I did not take pleasure in those who say a great deal, but in those who teach truth; nor again in those who recount strange precepts, but rather in those [who recount precepts] given by the Lord in the faith and springing from Truth itself.

"But if some one came at times who had been a follower of the Elders, I inquired about these Elders' words—what Andrew or what Peter used to say,[4] or what Philip or what Thomas or James, or what *John* or Matthew or any other one of the Lord's disciples—and what Aristion and *John the Elder,* disciples of the Lord,[5] say. For, I do not hold that the things (drawn) from the books are of as much advantage to me as those (received) from a living and lasting voice."[6]

95. Papias and "the Books."—What conclusions may be drawn from this text as regards the information Papias had? First of all, he seems to have had available both written and oral sources of information relative to Christ. "The books" which he mentions with the definite article can hardly mean the usual profane writings. These would not have availed him much in composing his Λογίων κυριακῶν Ἐξήγησις. Hence, one would conclude that Papias refers to sacred books or writings dealing with Christ's sayings and deeds—λεχθέντα καὶ

[2] Probably error for *exegeticis.*

[3] There is no indication that John dictated his Gospel to Papias. The *recte* here probably means "standing up."

[4] The Latin has rendered: "dicere soliti essent."

[5] This second "disciples of the Lord" is rejected by Lagrange as a mistaken gloss. It is not found in the Syriac version, nor does Eusebius seem to have read it.

[6] Cited by Eusebius, as from Papias' prologue, in his *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 39. See Greek text in Appendix II to this Chapter.

πραχθέντα of the Lord, in short, Gospels. Nor does Papias despise the value of these. He simply values higher the living traditions yet available from certain persons. Incidentally, it may be noted that since the information contributed by the "living and lasting voice" undoubtedly concerned Christ, such must have likewise been the content of "the books" with which this "voice" is compared.

96. Papias and "the Elders."—Next, who were the "elders" (πρεσβύτεροι) Papias mentions so frequently? Were they the Apostles? No. It would seem that they were disciples of the Apostles themselves, especially those whom the Apostles had placed in charge of the early Christian communities. These Elders had not necessarily themselves seen and heard the Lord. In fact, most of them seem not to have had this privilege, although it was not excluded for them. Their chief distinction lay in having been in immediate contact, not with Christ indeed, but with His Apostles. They were of the second generation of witnesses to Christian teaching.

Ireneus also frequently mentions the Elders as authorities, and they seem to be the same persons Papias has in mind, for example: "Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Ioannem discipulum Domini viderunt";[7] "Qua propter dicunt presbyteri, qui sunt Apostolorum discipuli . . .";[8] "Testimonium perhibentibus his qui facie ad faciem Ioannem viderunt." But, it will be objected, these Elders referred to by Ireneus do tell some tall tales at times—about the earthly felicity of the just, fruitfulness of the ground during the millennium, etc. Surely these extravagant fancies are not reported from the Apostles!

These passages are all in Ireneus' fifth book, and concern eschatologic questions. Whence does Ireneus get his information? From the Elders themselves? It would seem not; rather he is merely quoting from Papias—as seems indicated

[7] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, V, 33, 3–4.

[8] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, V, 5, 1, and V, 36, 1, and 30, 1. See also *op. cit.*, II, 22, 5. The Greek of some Ireneus passages is preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 23; III, 39, i, etc.

by one passage preserved in Greek by Eusebius: "But these things Papias, a hearer of John, and a past friend of Polycarp, an old man, testified in writing moreover (= καί) in the fourth of his books—for there are five books composed by him." So, Ireneus is not an independent witness, and the blame for the foolish fancies falls back on Papias—whom Eusebius qualifies disrespectfully as σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν. Eusebius discounts Papias' chiliastic fancies.

But, is Papias—and above all, are the Elders—to be held responsible for the fanciful tales at times imputed to the Elders? Hardly, when one takes into account how Papias received much of his information "from the Elders." Papias had indeed personally consulted the Elders at an early date (ποτέ), as he plainly states in the opening part of the text quoted. And the information thus received was probably quite orthodox. But later, far off the beaten track as bishop in Phrygia, he had to content himself with second-hand information from the Elders. He would eagerly ask questions of visitors of his: "What do the Elders say on this point and on that?" And, no doubt, he was much interested in his own millenarian hobby. His guests, doubtlessly as friends often sharing his ideas, would play up to his leading questions, and confirm his pet preoccupation with rather fancifully manufactured confirmations from the sayings of the Elders. And thus, in Papias' work, the reliable information he himself gathered from the Elders is inextricably confounded with garbled tales received at second-hand—to be later copied by Ireneus.

97. Papias and the Apostles.—As Dom Chapman has pointed out (against Zahn, Lepin, Bardenhewer), the πρεσβύτεροι are not identified with the Apostles by Papias. Instead of appositionally, his statement is to be read derivatively. Papias asks his visitors what the Elders say that Andrew, Peter, etc., said. By Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, are undoubtedly designated the Apostles bearing those names. The prominence of Andrew parallels somewhat the position assigned the same Apostle with John in the Muratorian Canon. Andrew seems to have

survived his brother Peter. John is mentioned in the same breath with the other Apostles, and is taken for granted without any distinguishing qualification, such as "Evangelist" or "Elder." Although only seven Apostles are named, all the rest are included in the generic closing phrase: "or any other one of the Lord's disciples." Thus, Papias closes and differentiates the apostolic list, in which John is included. The principle of differentiation seems to be primarily the apostolicity of the persons included.[9]

But another feature also marks off the apostolic group from the one which follows. The predicate verb, "used to say" (εἶπε), is in the singular and past tense. For the next group Papias uses a different verb, λέγουσιν, "they say," in the present tense and plural. Does the past tense of εἶπε indicate that the subjects are now no longer speaking—are dead? It would seem so. Even John, traditionally the last survivor of the apostolic band, would have long passed away, if Papias wrote his work somewhere between 125–150. This would hold good even if for St. John's death the latest assigned date, the seventh year of Trajan[10] (105 A.D.), be accepted. Thus, Papias' first group, which includes John the Evangelist, would be set apart on double principle: because its members are Apostles, and because they are already dead.

98. Aristion and John the Presbyter.—The crux of the whole problem comes in the next statement of Papias, namely that he inquired of his visitor-informers also "what Aristion and John the Elder (disciples of the Lord?) are saying" even at the time of his writing. Many scripturists—the majority perhaps of Catholics—consider this John the Elder to be the same person as the John already mentioned by Papias in the previous group, namely the Apostle and Evangelist. The chief reason for this is that John the Evangelist calls himself simply "the Elder" in I John 1:1 and II John 1:1.

But, why should Papias mention John the Apostle twice, once as member of a group certainly apostolic and probably

[9] This conclusion would be beyond doubt if in the following group the words "disciples of the Lord" are certainly a gloss, as is contended.

[10] *Chronic. Alexandr.*, Olymp. 220.

deceased, and then again in a group whose only other member is certainly not an Apostle, and with positive implication that he was still alive? The only reason assignable in such an hypothesis would seem to be that Papias wished to name as a separate group such men, Apostles or not, who had themselves seen and heard Christ, and *were yet living* at the time Papias was writing. The principle of distinction between the two groups would then not be double (the first group being Apostles and being deceased) but single (whether one who had seen and heard Christ was alive or dead, spoke or was still speaking). Now, while such a reason might explain naming John the Evangelist in the second group (assuming he was yet alive at the time Papias wrote), yet it would not explain why he should be named also in the earlier group.

99. John the Presbyter Real Person.—No, close analysis of the text seems to indicate (as Eusebius long ago argued) that Papias did not simply name one person twice, but had in mind two distinct persons when he placed a "John" in his apostolic group, and paired a "John the Presbyter" with Aristion. The chief reason assignable for this interpretation is of course that where separate naming takes place, even if the names are identical, the persons are normally separate and distinct. But confirmations may be added from the text itself. The "John" in the apostolic list is mentioned, as are the other Apostles, without any title or qualification—his position and dignity being taken for granted as known to all. But the "John" in the second group has the ἐπίθετον of "the Elder" attached. Why? Primarily to make it clear that he is not to be identified with the other "John" previously mentioned; secondarily, because he and Aristion were not of the apostolic band, but were πρεσβύτεροι, though perhaps with the added honor of having, as had the Apostles, seen and heard Christ.[11] Moreover, Aristion, who certainly is not an Apostle, is given the first place in this second group. Surely Papias

[11] Thus, the second "disciples of the Lord" would not have to be considered a gloss. In fact, that phrase in both groups would constitute the common *genus* of all members, whereas apostolicity and being alive, or their contraries, would form the specifying *differentiæ*.

would not have given to "John the Presbyter" a position secondary to that of a mere Elder-disciple, if John the Elder had been no one less than John the Apostle and the famous beloved primate of Asia Minor!

All this seems to point towards agreement with Eusebius, that the John the Elder mentioned by Papias is a distinct and real person, not to be identified with John the Apostle.

100. Identity of John the Presbyter.—But who was this John the Elder? To judge by his name, he was a Palestinian or Jewish Christian. At least at the time Papias wrote, he was of less importance than Aristion, whose personality is equally obscure. But, according to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 46), John the Elder would have been appointed by John the Apostle as his coadjutor at Ephesus—to succeed to that see upon the Apostle's demise. If the title of "Elder" was really applied to John the Apostle by others than himself,[12] then it might from long custom fall upon his successor.[13] But it would seem more probable that the appellative "Presbyter" was given this obscure disciple originally to distinguish him in conversation from the Apostle of the same name who was his patron. The tale of Dionysius of Alexandria regarding the graves of two Johns at Ephesus would fit in here.[14] Belser hazards a conjecture that the "two others of the disciples" of John 21:2 were Aristion and John the Elder, and that perhaps John 21:24–25 (if not the whole of chapter 21), as also John 1:15, is to be attributed to the latter.

It is true that some of the early ecclesiastical writers made the mistake of attributing the authorship of the Apocalypse (and sometimes of II John and III John) to John the Elder. But that was done merely as a subterfuge, to avoid having

[12] As used in the Johannine Epistles, the term seems rather an appellative of modesty, like St. Peter's ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος in I Pet. 5:1.

[13] Thus, when the writer once had temporary charge of the parish of the famous old Dr. McGovern at Lockport, Ill., shortly before the latter's death, he found himself addressed continually by the parishioners, not as "Father," but as "Doctor."

[14] St. Jerome, in *De Viris Illust.* (ix, xviii), is probably only repeating Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 25. Here need but be mentioned the medieval legends of "Prester John."

the great Apostle apparently sponsor chiliastic errors. Modern hypercritical scripturists have revived the subterfuge in order to avoid acknowledging the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. With this intention, they have striven to enlarge the figure of the obscure Ephesian Elder to apostolic size.[15] Their efforts have been in vain, and only go to show that the author of the Fourth Gospel must have been an Apostle. Admitting the reality of John the Presbyter does not imperil the doctrine that John the Thunderer, the son of Zebedee—"the disciple whom Jesus loved," who leaned upon His bosom at the Last Supper, and to whom He gave His Mother from the Cross—is the author of the Gospel that recounts these facts.

Art. 3: INTERNAL EVIDENCE ON AUTHOR OF FOURTH GOSPEL

101. A Disciple and Eyewitness.—Whilst the Gospels of Mark and Matthew are quite anonymous, and Luke but mentions himself in his preface, the Fourth Gospel closes with a solemn attestation to its author. At the end of the supplementary chapter (John 21:24–25), when it has just been stated that Christ had said of "the disciple whom Jesus loved, he who reclined on His bosom at the Supper" (John 21:20): "If I wish him to remain until I come . . ." (John 21 :23)—another writer takes up the Evangelist's pen to add: "It is that very disciple who gives testimony of these things and has written them, and we know that his testimony is true." At the same time that the author's modest anonymity is respected, his identity is made unmistakable.

Who are the persons thus adding their attestation? Both the Muratorian Canon (with its *condiscipuli, episcopi sui, recognoscentibus cunctis*), Ireneus (with his οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες),[1] and

[15] Thus, Benjamin E. Robinson in *The Gospel of John* (1925).

[1] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 23 (Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 257).

Clement of Alexandria (with his "requested by those who were acquaintances") indicate that it was the Elders, revered as hearers of St. John,[2] that took a hand in this matter. Prominent among these Elders seem to have been Aristion—of whom Eusebius records that he had "before (Papias) published statements (commentaries?) of the Lord's words"—and John the Presbyter, who had likewise given out "traditions." The latter was also constituted as his successor at Ephesus by St. John himself. It may be conjectured that it was one of these two men, outstanding amongst the πρεσβύτεροι, who added the confirming postscript to the Fourth Gospel.[3]

102. The Beloved Disciple.—But, who was this "disciple whom Jesus loved" (John 13:23, 19:26, 20:2, 21:7, 20), and "who reclined on His bosom at the Supper"? Nowhere in the Fourth Gospel is he named—the same Gospel in which there appears six times an anonymous "other disciple" (John 18:15, 16; 20:2, 3, 4, 8). That the "other disciple" and "the disciple whom Jesus loved" are one and the same person, is proved by John 20:2. But full identification is afforded by checking up with the Synoptics.

The author of the Fourth Gospel mentions by name only six Apostles, Andrew, Peter, Philip, Nathanael (= Jude), Thomas, Judas, and nowhere (except indirectly John 13:16) applies to them the title of "Apostle." Also at no time does the author mention Zebedee or his sons or their mother. The first time the "other disciple" is mentioned is John 1:35, 37, 40. Two of the Baptist's followers, when their leader points out Jesus as "the Son of God" (John 1:34), follow Christ. "And Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, was one of the two who had been a hearer of John (the Baptist) and

[2] "Presbyteri . . . qui Ioannem discipulum Domini viderunt," says Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, V, 33 (Migne, *P. G.*, VII, col. 1213).

[3] All the better would this fit if Belser's conjecture—that John the Presbyter had originally been a follower of the Baptist (like John the Apostle himself), and with Aristion made the "two others of the disciples" (John 21:2) who with some of the Apostles were fishing when Christ appeared on the shore—could be supported. But it is more probable the καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου of John 21:2 is a gloss, and that the "two others of the disciples" were in fact the sons of Zebedee—John the Evangelist and James the Greater, protomartyr of the Apostles.

followed him." But, who was the other? That person's identity (whilst clearly he is on a par with Andrew) is evidently concealed deliberately by the writer of the Fourth Gospel.

Matthew and Mark mention Peter and Andrew as the first disciples called, and, immediately in connection therewith, James and John, sons of Zebedee (Matt. 4:18 *ss.;* Mark 1:19). In Matthew's list of the Apostles (Matt. 10:2–3), immediately after Peter and Andrew come James and John, sons of Zebedee (note also Mark 3:17; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13). Again, Peter, James and John are the group witnessing the Transfiguration (Luke 9:28, 9:1; Matt. 17:1), and also the raising of Jaïrus' daughter (Mark 5:37; Luke 8:51). Then also, the two sons of Zebedee, through their mother, ask for the privilege of being seated at Christ's throne in His kingdom (Mark 10:35; Matt. 20:20 *ss.*). They evidently felt that they occupied a privileged position in the apostolic band. Peter, James, John and Andrew, apart from the others, by their inquiries give occasion for Christ's great eschatologic discourse (Mark 13:3) on Mount Olivet. They too are witnesses of the agony in the garden (Mark 14:33). Luke gives the information that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were Simon's partners in the fishing business (Luke 5:10), and tells of their desire to have lightning strike the hostile Samaritans (Luke 9:54). Peter and John were sent by Christ to get ready the pasch (Luke 22:8). And, after Pentecost, Peter and John are found associated in the cure of the lame man (Acts 3:1 *ss.*), and even St. Paul later notices them together (Gal. 2:9).

103. John's Prominence in Synoptics.—The three Synoptics mention John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, twenty times altogether, and generally in connection with his brother James or with Peter and Andrew. John is inextricably interwoven with their history of Christ. Now, the Fourth Gospel also presents a history of Christ—but John and his relatives, and his acts and words, are never named therein. Andrew is named five times, and Peter thirty-two times in the Fourth Gospel—and their Synoptic associate, John, not at all. In

the places where, according to Synoptic precedent, one would expect John's name to be featured, there appears, instead of John, an anonymous "other disciple." When Andrew and Peter first come to follow Christ, reclining next to Peter at the Last Supper, with Peter in Pilate's court, with Peter at the Tomb, and with Peter and Andrew fishing after the Resurrection, one finds always the unnamed "other disciple." Who is this person? Every law of association and probability points to the conclusion that this is none other than John, the son of Zebedee, the Apostle, the associate and friend of Peter and Andrew, first in their common business of fishing and then in the inner council of the apostolic group.

That neither John, nor his older brother, James the Greater, nor their father Zebedee, nor their mother Salomé, although mentioned frequently in the Synoptics, are named in the Fourth Gospel, seems to be due to deliberate avoidance and suppression on the part of the author. Now, who would have a motive to enforce such suppression? Certainly not John the Presbyter nor Aristion nor any other of the Asia Minor Elders, to whom the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is sometimes ascribed. No; as John's intimates and friends, deriving much of their authority and honor from having been his disciples, they would rather have magnified the rôle of John Zebedee in the Gospel history. They surely had no reason for pointedly avoiding naming him at all.

But with John himself the case was quite different. In face of the veneration accorded him as the last survivor of the apostolic band, and having a keen realization of his personal unworthiness of that affection which made him known as Christ's favorite disciple, he would recoil from seeming to boast thereof; he would be most reluctant to repeat his personal prominence in the Gospel history, so clear from the Synoptic accounts. Small wonder that tradition shows him consenting to write his Gospel only upon the urgings of his disciples (*cohortantibus* of the Muratorian Canon)! And then, when he did write, he deliberately and carefully omitted everything that might identify himself and his family. Where mentioning his presence could not be avoided, he would hide

himself under the vague anonym of "the other disciple," "the disciple whom Jesus loved"—using the latter qualification not boastfully but simply to explain the privileged position in which the "other disciple" is frequently found.

Art. 4: INTEGRITY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

104. Angel at the Pool.—In the account of the healing of the paralytic in the galleries about the Bezatha[1] pool in John 5:3, the word παραλυτικῶν is apparently foresightedly added in some minor MSS.; the words ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν, although in the bulk of MSS., is lacking in ℵ*BACL* Syrcur., etc. But it is John 5:4 that is above all questioned, as the whole verse is omitted in ℵ*BCD* 33, etc. In the Vulgate, there are considerable variants echoing the Greek, as if St. Jerome did not have this verse. Amongst the Fathers, Tertullian is the first to allude to its presence: "Piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interveniens commovebat."[2] St. Augustine, too, seems to have heard of the angel, but not to have read it in his text, saying: "Subito enim videbatur aqua turbata, et a quo turbabatur, non videbatur. Credas hoc angelica virtute fieri solere." Hence, many scripturists (including Calmes, Le Camus, Belser) do not consider this verse authentic, explaining it as perhaps a gloss interpolated from popular legend. The passage is not amongst the Tridentine *partes.*

105. The Woman Caught in Adultery.—The pericope John 7:52—8:11, on the other hand, is one of the *partes* of the Gospels considered by Trent. The evidence for its presence there in the Fourth Gospel is weaker than that for the conclusion of Mark. The Ferrar group of MSS. insert the pericope after Luke 21:37; others insert it at the end of the Gospel, or after John 7:36. It is omitted by the following Greek MSS.: ℵ*BACLT*-XΔω*θ*. It is found in its present place

[1] Bezatha, the "cut" or "ditch", was the name given to a new section of the city of Jerusalem, northeast, near the Antonia Keep. The ruins of the pool itself have been found there at the Church of St. Ann.

[2] Tertullian, *De Baptismo,* 5.

in *DFGHKUT* and cursives. Whilst the Vulgate has it, quite a number of Latin versions omit it. The Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian versions generally omit it. Amongst the Fathers, it is known to St. Pacian of Barcelona (died before 392) and St. Ambrose; but not to Tertullian, Ireneus, Cyprian, Hippolytus, etc. St. Jerome says: "In Evangelio secundum Ioannem in multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus invenitur de adultera muliere, quæ accusata est apud Dominum" [3]—thus seeming to consider it abnormal. In explanation of its absence, much has been made of St. Augustine's words: "Sed hic videlicet infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicæ fidei vel potius inimici veræ fidei, credo, metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud quod de adulteræ indulgentia Dominus fecit, abstulerunt de codicibus suis." [4] But, this seems to be only a conjecture (note *credo*) on the part of St. Augustine.

Lagrange thinks it is more probable that the pericope is a subsequent addition to the Gospel, rather than that it was omitted or excised from the primitive text. But whence might it have come? Possibly, if not probably also, from Johannine oral information, gathered and recorded by Papias. Of him Eusebius says: "He set forth also another history concerning the woman (Rufinus: *de muliere adultera*) accused of many sins before the Lord—which the Gospel according to the Hebrews carries." [5] The *Didascalia* (of about 250) also alludes to the incident, calling the accusers—oddly enough—*presbyteri*. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (II, 24: date about 400) add to the *Didascalia* the example of the sinful woman (Luke 7:47), and then continue "another sinful woman the Elders set. . . ." Thus, Eusebius seems to have distinguished two cases of sinful women, the one found in the Gospel (Luke 7:47), and the other derived from Papias, although also found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. If Papias thus recorded, as told by John the Apostle, this

[3] Jerome, *Contra Pelag.*, II, 17 (Migne, *P. L.*, XXIII, col. 553).
[4] Augustine, *De Conjugiis Adulterinis*, II, vii (cfr. Migne, *P. L.*, XXIII, col. 554, footnote c.).
[5] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, xxxix, 17.

incident so well fitting to Johannine thought, it is not surprising that it was soon added as an integral part of John's Gospel.

106. Last Chapter of John.—The Fourth Gospel does not give any account of the Ascension, but does relate the Thomas incident which removes all doubt as to the reality of the risen Christ. And the Gospel proper originally fittingly closed with the truly Johannine exclamation relative to Christ: "My Lord, and my God!" (John 20:28), and the exhortation: "Blessed they who have not seen and yet have believed." The thought contained in Thomas' and Christ's words there are echoed in the Evangelist's conclusion or epilogue (John 20:30–31).[6]

But, after the closing epilogue, another whole chapter was added to the Gospel, and the attestation of John's companions subjoined. In view of the typically Johannine character and language of this chapter, no worth-while objection has been raised against its coming from the hand of the writer of the rest of the Fourth Gospel, the Apostle John.[7] The only anomaly in the text is the mention of the "sons of Zebedee" (*καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου*, John 21:2). Nowhere else has John mentioned his brother or his family. Yet, there is no doubt that John himself was along with Peter, Thomas, and the rest on this fishing expedition (John 21:20). It is a very safe conjecture to say that "the Zebedees" is an ancient gloss on the following words, and meant to explain who were the "two others of His disciples." John would thus have guarded his anonymity consistently to the end.

107. Reason for Appendix.—The content of this last chapter seems to indicate at least one reason for its composition.[8]

[6] Lagrange holds that this epilogue has been moved up to its present position from the end of John 21:23. He does this evidently because he is so strongly impressed with the unity of hand of both chapters 20 and 21. But otherwise there is no sufficient reason assigned, and the postulate of transposition seems unnecessary. Of course, for Père Lagrange chapter 21 is not an appendix.

[7] Belser, however, would attribute the whole last chapter (and a few fragments within the Gospel, such as John 1:15; 19:35) to the writer of the attestation John 21: 24–25—John the Presbyter or Aristion.

[8] It is just possible that the Petrine primacy indications, so outstanding in John 21, may have connection with the succession to Peter's

Peter was already dead, and John, now a very old man, alone remained of the apostolic group. Because of his extreme age, and in connection with vague rumors of a promise by Christ in his regard, there had arisen an erroneous popular legend that John was never to die (John 21:23). It was to correct this mistaken notion that the last chapter seems to have been added supplementarily by John himself. He recounts the exact detail of the incident which originally gave rise to the false impression. No, Christ had not said: "He shall not die" (John 21:23), but only that he should remain on earth until Christ should begin to "come into" His Kingdom—that is, until the Church should visibly begin to grow and spread and conquer in the world.

Thus, John to the very end appears anxious to remove from himself any application of special privilege or official dignity in the apostolic college, being content otherwise with the private encomium of "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

Art. 5: APOLOGETIC ASPECT OF FOURTH GOSPEL

108. Object of St. John.—The purpose of the Fourth Gospel is declared by its author himself to be "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in His name" (John 20:31). Thus, John's scope is much broader and sublimer than that of the Synoptics. That John is along general lines opposing such early heretics as Cerinthus[1] and the Ebionites, and

position after his death. Perhaps the Asia Minor bishops thought that John, as the last living Apostle, should now be the head of the entire Church. If so, then John tactfully and modestly corrects their impression, by pointing out that Christ Himself had very formally conferred the distinction of primacy on Peter—and that he, John, was not Peter's successor.

1 "Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia, Deum. Iesum autem subiecit, non ex Virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est); fuisse autem eum Ioseph et Mariæ filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse iustitia et prudentia et sapientia ab hominibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea

similar Gnostic errors, has been commonly affirmed. But, without contravening this assertion, the venerable Dom J. Olivieri of Quarr Abbey has developed a theory whose main lines are accepted also by Père Lagrange.[2] This theory is herewith reproduced, as throwing much light on the whole composition of the Fourth Gospel.

109. Dom Olivieri's Theory.—Who were the immediate adversaries John had in view when writing his Gospel, and what were their arguments?

According to St. Justin, at that early date when the center of the Church was still in the Orient in Asia Minor, the *Jerusalem Jews* (scattered now and embittered by the destruction of their Holy City) strove to stop their compatriots and even Gentiles from entering the Church. Their main argument to this end might be formulated as follows: The Abrahamic promises for the blessing and salvation of the world had been made to the Jews, the Chosen People. Now, (according to the Christians) the promises were beginning to be fulfilled, the Messias had indeed already come, and was the founder of Christianity. But Israel itself at the same time was found, instead of rejoicing and commanding, cast into the exterior darkness and excluded from the long-promised inheritance. Could this be really so? Could God be unfaithful to His word, and shut out the older son from the banquet prepared for the Prodigal, the Gentiles? No. Therefore, they concluded, Christ could not have been God, nor His work divine, because He did not fulfill the ancient prom-

principalitate, quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annuntiasse incognitum Patrem et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Iesu, et Iesum passum esse et resurrexisse; Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem'' (Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, I, 36, Migne, *P. G.*, VII, col. 686; also in Hippolytus' *Elenchos,* VII, 33). Furthermore, the same Ireneus says: ''Hanc fidem annuntians Ioannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ'' (Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, III, 9, Migne, *P. G.*, VII, coll. 879–80).

[2] This theory is summarized in Dom Olivieri's letter, ''La Conception qui domine le 4ième Évangile'' in *Revue Biblique,* July 1916, pp. 382–395. Of course, Dom Olivieri postulates (with Belser) only one and a half years of Christ's public ministry. But Lagrange shows this postulate not necessary for acceptance of the theory otherwise.

ises, and call Israel first, make His debut at Jerusalem and in the Temple, and gather about Him the priesthood and leaders of Jewry. Instead, He swung Himself into notoriety by inciting the ignorant and credulous folk of distant half-heathen Galilee, as is evinced from the Synoptic Gospels. Did ever an authentic prophet come from Galilee or anything good from Nazareth? No, rather, "the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Is. 2:3).

The objection was a powerful one, already early recognized by St. Peter and St. Paul (Acts 3:25; Rom. 9—11, 15:8). Had Christ indeed neglected Jerusalem? Had He not dared to submit to the priests and scribes, experts in the Law, the evidences of His divine commission? Certainly, these must legitimately acknowledge and receive and approve Israel's Messias first of all.

110. John's Gospel Refutes Objection.—Having to face these difficulties, John's Gospel begins with the mission of the Baptist, he who was the herald foretold by Malachy (3:1) as immediately preceding and announcing the advent of their Messias to the Jews. To the Baptist comes an official commission, "priests and Levites sent from Jerusalem to ask him: 'Who art thou?' " (John 1:19 *ss.*). The Baptist recognizes their authority. He identifies himself as the Precursor of the Messias, but not the Messias Himself,[3] and at the same time announces that the Messias is indeed already come. Meantime, Christ was probably absent in the desert for the forty days. But on the following day He appears at the Jordan. Then the Baptist points Him out, in all probability to the same Jerusalem delegation: "Behold the Lamb of God!

[3] As the *Recognitiones* also indicate, and indeed as the repeated designations in the Fourth Gospel of the secondary function of the Baptist insinuate, there seems to have been a group of the Baptist's former followers (note Acts 18:25; 19:3–4) also somehow opposed to nascent Christianity—perhaps in alliance with the Jerusalem Jews. "Sed et e discipulis Ioannis (Baptistæ), qui videbantur esse magni, segregrarunt se a populo et magistrum suum velut Christum prædicarunt" (Pseudo-Clementine, *Recognitiones*, I, 54; see also 60). Norberg has suspected descendants of these Baptist sectaries in the Sabeans. It was proper that John Zebedee, himself a former disciple of the Baptist, should insist upon the latter's true preparatory rôle.

. . . This is He of whom I said: 'After me there cometh a man who is preferred before me . . .'" (John 1 : 29–30). And he adduces the proofs of the revelation made him by the Father as to Christ's real character and mission, that He is indeed "the Son of God" (Luke 3 : 22). Thus was the Messias officially introduced to the highest religious authorities of Israel.

111. Messias' Official Temple Visit.—A few days were still to pass after the above solemn presentation of the Messias to Israel, before He would make the official opening of His mission at Jerusalem and in the Temple according to Malachy's prophecy. The Evangelist follows Christ as it were step by step during those days, noting that meanwhile the Messias performed no official act of His function. He does not call Andrew, John, Peter, etc. These are turned over to Him by the Baptist, or invited by their friends. He works His first miracle indeed at Cana of Galilee—but the Evangelist emphasizes that it is at a private, irresistible request, that of His Mother,[4] and the miracle passes almost unnoticed by the guests.

A few days later, for the feast of the Pasch, Jesus makes the long-prophesied entry into His Temple. He is not unknown to those who are its custodians; they have been advised of His dignity by the Baptist. As proper, then, it was "at Jerusalem, at the Pasch, upon the festival day," and in the Temple itself, that Christ formally opened His Messianic mission by working many miracles (John 2 : 23), not described in detail in any Gospel, so that "many believed in His name." But of the leaders of Jewry only Nicodemus acknowledged, but he privately at night for fear of his companions: "We know Thou art come a teacher from God. For no man can

[4] The present writer had hitherto advocated of the Cana feast phrase (John 2 : 4): "My hour is not yet come," an interpretation whereby the "My hour" would be a reference to the time of Christ's Passion, when He would no longer unveil His divine Personality in miracles—this interpretation being based on the parallels of John 7 : 30; 12 : 23, 27; 13 : 1; 16 : 32; 17 : 1. In view of Dom Olivieri's theory, he is no longer prepared to maintain this, yet he still would insist that the words of Christ to His Mother must be interpreted as an invitation and not as a correction.

do these signs which Thou dost, unless God be with him" (John 3:2).

But all this availed naught. Instead of being received and acclaimed by the priests and scribes, Jesus was not only coldly challenged, but even His life was threatened. Once the Paschal crowds left Jerusalem, He was no longer safe there. But He would not leave altogether, only "retiring to the district of Judea." But soon He had to flee thence, after the Jews had delivered John the Baptist into Herod's power, and the only safe road for Him lay through Samaria, where at the Sichar well He reaffirmed the Messianic privileges of the Jews and Jerusalem. Thus, because Jerusalem had refused Him hospitality, He must perforce make Galilee the chief scene of His labors, as the Synoptics record. "And when He was come into Galilee, the Galileans received Him, having *seen all the things He had done at Jerusalem on the festival day*" (John 4:45).

112. Second Pasch.—Again there comes a Pasch (John 6:4),[5] and Christ goes up to Jerusalem to work the miracle of the paralytic at the Pool, on which occasion He once more reveals His divine personality to the priests (John 5). But, "after these things Jesus walked in Galilee; . . . in Judea . . . the Jews sought to kill Him" (John 7:1). But even in Galilee He could not now remain long with safety, but, through the hatred of the priests allied with the Herodians, He was obliged to wander along the frontiers, in the districts of Tyre, Sidon, and the Decapolis. There was not left "the Son of Man a place where He might rest His head" (Matt. 8:20).

113. Feast of the Tabernacles.—Nevertheless, when the Feast of the Tabernacles came around, Christ once more "went up to the Feast, not openly but as it were in secret" (John 7:10), although He had been urged to head the pilgrimage of His enthusiastic Galilean followers. He did not wish to force Himself on the Jerusalem authorities on the

[5] Dom Olivieri would have this the Pentecost of the same year. Lagrange shows it is not necessary. But both Dom Olivieri and Lagrange would interchange chapters 5 and 6.

crest of a popular movement. Hence, He appears in the Temple this time alone, without companions. There ensued lengthy discussions with the obstinate leaders of Jewry, but these only "sought to apprehend Him" (John 7:30, 32). Towards the crowds, they made capital of the fact that none "of the rulers believed in Him, or of the Pharisees" (John 7:48). At night, Jesus was obliged to leave Jerusalem for the safety of Olivet (John 8:1). In the daytime, He is again found in the Temple, making a final attempt to win over Israel's leaders, till at last He is obliged to give up and henceforth treat them as hopeless reprobates (John 8:28) who will crucify Him. The opposition can no longer mask its hostility behind theological argumentation. They openly insult Christ with vile epithets (John 8:48, 52), absurdly twisting His words (John 8:57), and in the end "they took up stones to cast at Him" (John 8:59).

Jesus retires, probably to labor in the Judean district. But about three months later He again appears in the Temple, walking in Solomon's Porch, for the Feast of the Dedication (John 10:22–23), but again οἱ Ἰουδαίοι "took up stones to stone Him" (John 10:31), and finally "sought to take Him, and He escaped out of their hands, and went again beyond the Jordan, into that place where John was first baptizing" (John 10:39–40).

Christ's last—one might say, desperate—appeal to the blindly obstinate hierarchs of Jerusalem was the raising of the dead Lazarus at that city's very gates. His disciples remind Him that death threatened Him for returning into Judea (John 11:8, 16). Nevertheless, Jesus went. Thereupon the Sanhedrin formally decrees His death. For the short time still remaining Him, "Jesus walked no more openly among the Jews," but stayed at Ephrem (John 11:54) until the time came for Him to go up again for the Pasch, which was to be the last week of His life.

Thus might the Fourth Gospel be conceived as an apology, explaining how it came about that the Abrahamic Promises were not fulfilled in the Jews of Jerusalem. It shows that Christ left nothing undone to convince them of His Messianic

dignity. Their rejection was due entirely to their own deliberate obstinacy. "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not" (John 1:11). Therefore, He was obliged to go elsewhere, although He Himself insisted that salvation was of the Jews (John 4:22), and that He was sent primarily to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. But, to "*as many as received* Him (as believed in His doctrine), He gave power to be made sons of God . . . not merely because, by flesh and blood," they happened to be racially Jews (John 1:12–13).

Art. 6: "LOGOS," "LIGHT," "LIFE," "JUDGMENT" IN ST. JOHN

114. The Johannine "Logos."—John's *Logos* doctrine has been spoken of as derived from Philo and Platonists. But Philo's "Word" was not the same concept as the *Memra* of the Jerusalem Jewish religious teachers. The latter's concept first appears in the Sapiential Books of the Old Testament,[1] where are found indications of a Divine Person not less than God, intimately conjoined with God, especially in connection with the world's creation. The "Word" of Philo, on the other hand, was "the Shadow of God," a divinity of secondary order, an instrument by whose aid God worked on primordial matter, "the first-born of the angels." Although one might not say that it was born like other creatures, still it was not uncreate in the same measure as is the Supreme God.[2]

[1] See Prov. 8; Ecclus. 24; Wisdom 7:25, 26:10. The idea of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead was dimly indicated already in the Old Testament. Note Gen. 1:26, 3:22, 11:7, 22:12; Exod. 3:2, 6, 23:20–21, 33:2–3, 14; Num. 6:26; Jos. 5:14; Judges 5:13–15, 6:11–22, 13:6–22, etc. The concept of the Divine Intelligence as a distinct Person in the Divinity was quite developed amongst the more educated Jews at and before Christ's time—one might say, practically in accordance with the Thomistic principle: "Quicumque enim aliquid facit, oportet quod illud præconcipiat in sua sapientia. . . . Sic ergo Deus nihil operatur nisi per conceptum sui intellectus, qui est sapientia ab æterno concepta, scil. Dei Verbum et Dei Filius."

[2] Read McNabb's article "The Johannine Logos" in *Eccl. Review*, March, 1906.

Cerinthus, the founder of Gnosticism, wished to fuse Platonism and Hebraism. He brought from Alexandria to Ephesus the false Platonist doctrine of a created *Logos* mediating between God and all outside God. St. John opposed him by setting forth the correct Jewish rabbinical concept of the *Logos* as consubstantial and coëternal with God.

That there was a definite Palestinian teaching on the *Memra* (of which the philosophical Greek *logos* is the best translation), is evidenced from the *Targumim* or paraphrases of the Pentateuch by Onkelos, and of the Prophets by Jonathan ben Usiel (dating from before Jerusalem's destruction).[3] There the terms מֵימְרָא and דַּבַּר (*verbum*, λόγος), and שְׁכִינָה ("dwelling" or "presence,") are frequently used to replace the word "God" in the original text. Thus Num. 9:18 is given as: "After the Memra of the Lord they marched, and according to His Memra they made camp." Jonathan reproduces III Kings 9:18 as: "Forgive Thy people what they have sinned before Thee, and all their iniquities wherewith they have transgressed against Thy Memra"; and Is. 6:8: "I heard the voice of the Memra of the Lord." St. Paul himself gives evidence of this rabbinic teaching that "Israel's Rock" (II Kings 23:3; Is. 30:29, 44:8; Deut. 32:4), the Person that accompanied and guided their wanderings through the desert, "was Christ" (I Cor. 10:4, 9).

115. Derived from Palestine.—In so far as it may not be original with himself, St. John's *Logos* doctrine was thus derived, not from Plato or the Greeks, but from the teachings current amongst the Palestinian rabbis. Whilst St. John has a far fuller development of their ideas, his own teaching is not in contradiction with theirs, whilst it is opposed to the pantheistic vagaries of Philo, whose *logos* dissolves vaguely into the extra-divine universe. Of course, to combat the errors issued from Alexandria, the Evangelist had to be acquainted with them, and their terminology would appear in his rebuttal.

[3] See A. Mayer, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes* (Herder, 1843), vol. I, pp. 115–124.

116. Untechnical Terminology.—Very deservedly was St. John later titled as "the divine" (θεόλογος), for his Gospel (especially when taken in conjunction with his Epistles, of which the first seems to have been an introduction for the Gospel), more than the others, develops a *Weltanschauung*, a definite theory or interpretation of the relationship between the universe and God. This was to be expected in view of the heretical systems beginning to be promulgated about his time.

But it was a far cry yet to the ages when, from the best products of Greek thinking, an adequate, exact theological terminology would be developed in the Church to express accurately the fine technical definitions and distinctions of her teaching. St. John ever remained in thought-forms a Semite, and used metaphorical, concrete Oriental phrasing, instead of the terse abstract terms to which Western minds are more accustomed. Hence, the full import and meaning of his expressions is not always clear at first sight. These must, as it were, be translated into terms commonly used at present.

117. "Light" and "Life."—Thus, for example, what is the meaning of the words "Light" and "Life," as frequently used metaphorically in the Johannine writings? St. John, in his *Logos* doctrine, has conceived the universe created as the extra-divine expression of the Divine Mind: "And without Him (= not in accord with the Divine Mind) was made nothing; and what(ever) was made continues living (= ζωὴ ἦν) in (= according to) Him" (John 1:3–4).[4] There are not two principles, Good and Evil; all things come from one infinite Source, which is good. Not only did God alone create the universe, but its continued activity, growth, development, and life are directly derived from Him, and must necessarily be in conformity with His will and plan. Above all does this apply to men, whose free will makes it possible in the present state for them to deviate from, or be out of harmony with,

[4] It will be noted that the "first" form of traditional division is adopted in this explanatory paraphrase—joining ὃ γέγονεν to what follows rather than to what precedes.

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the Divine world-plan. Therefore, the Divine world-plan must serve as the guide and light of human intelligence: "And the Life was the Light of men" (John 1:4).

"Light" and "Life" are primarily equivalent to the subjective and objective phases of the Divine world-plan. In so far as this implies order, organization, and harmonious interoperation of the parts to their own good and that of the whole, it is designated as "Life"—opposed to "Death," negation, destruction. "Light" emphasizes the Divine world-plan particularly as apprehendable by intellectual creatures, including men, and is contrasted with the "Darkness" of error, revolt, disorder, and chaos. For, just as Gen. 1:4 insinuates, there had crept into the universe upon its creation a nonconforming element of disorder, which could be nought but a rebellious intellectual creature unwilling to conform to the Divine command: *Fiat lux!*[5] Hence comes the age-long battle between the Divine decree of world-order (personified in the *Logos,* Intelligence or Wisdom Divine) and the darksome powers of disorder. St. John, of course, refers directly to men who conform not to the Divine world-order, and only remotely to the primeval purely spiritual rebellious forces who placed themselves in opposition to God.

Already in the Ancient Dispensation, "the Light" of Divine revelation and guidance to restore the pristine harmony of the universe "shone in the Darkness" of fallen man and heathendom, but it did not succeed in dissipating the gloom of disorder, nor yet did the powers of darkness succeed in extinguishing the great principle of right and life (John 1:5). Then came John the Baptist—not that he was *the* Light, but simply the one to point out the real Light when it came. For, in God's due season, the "true Light"—the Divine Intelligence, personally, incarnate in man's flesh—"came into the world to enlighten every man" (John 1:9), so that he might regain his primeval status of sonship to God. This last is man's true life, supernatural, established for him by the original gratuitous decree of God. In this sense, then,

[5] Gen. 1: 3–4 is before the Evangelist's mind as he writes.

the "state of grace" is Light and Life, whilst sin and its consequences form the disorder of "Death" and "Darkness."

118. "Judgment" and "Resurrection."—Frequently in the Fourth Gospel the "judgment" (κρίσις) is spoken of as already begun with Christ's entry into the world (John 3:18–19; 12:31; 16:11). It is intimately conjoined with "faith," belief in Christ and His divine mission; and this "faith" is itself the beginning of "life" supernatural (John 6:47; 17:2–3). He who believes is already "risen" (John 5:24; 11:25–26; I John 3:14). "Judgment" in this sense signifies the personal decision of each man for Christ or against Him —for "life" or for "death," for the Kingdom of God or for the Kingdom of this World or of Evil. For the faithful, Christ's followers, it consists in a placement of themselves in harmony with God's plan for the universe through coöperation with the "light" and "life" means made available by His Son. For the non-believers, those who reject Christ, it involves self-exclusion from "life," adherence to the "darkness" of the rebellious powers of disorder, and an anticipated "judgment" of condemnation (for κρίσις often is the equivalent of κατακρίσις or sentence of punishment, John 3:16; 5:21, etc.). This process is ever going on during time in each man's own conscience. But it will receive its formal externalization and culmination at a final bodily resurrection and judgment at the close of the time-long warfare between Darkness and Light, when the latter shall at last stand forth definitely triumphant (John 6:39; 5:25). Another phase of "judgment," which took place at the Incarnation, relates to the Powers of Evil, till then dominant in the world. Their control on earth is already on the wane; their tyranny over men has begun to be loosed (John 12:31; 16:11).

APPENDIX I

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON ST. JOHN

De Auctoritate et Veritate Historica Quarti Evangelii

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica sequenti modo respondit:

I.—Utrum ex constanti, universali ac solemni Ecclesiæ traditione iam a sæculo secundo decurrente, prout maxime eruitur: (a) ex Sanctorum Patrum, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, imo etiam hæreticorum, testimoniis et allusionibus quæ, cum ab Apostolorum discipulis vel primis successoribus derivâsse oportuerit, necessario nexu cum ipsa libri origine cohærent; (b) ex recepto semper et ubique nomine auctoris quarti Evangelii in canone et catalogis sacrorum Librorum; (c) ex eorumdem Librorum vetustissimis manuscriptis codicibus et in varia idiomata versionibus; (d) ex publico usu liturgico inde ab Ecclesiæ primordiis toto orbe obtinente; præscindendo ab argumento theologico, tam solido argumento historico demonstretur Ioannem Apostolum et non alium quarti Evangelii auctorem esse agnoscendum, ut rationes a criticis in oppositum adductæ hanc traditionem nullatenus infirment? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum etiam rationes internæ quæ eruuntur ex textu quarti Evangelii seiunctim considerato, ex scribentis testimonio et Evangelii ipsius cum Prima Epistola Ioannis Apostoli manifesta cognatione, censendæ sint confirmare traditionem quæ eidem Apostolo quartum Evangelium indubitanter attribuit?—Et utrum difficultates quæ ex collatione ipsius Evangelii cum aliis tribus desumuntur, habita præ oculis diversitate temporis, scopi et auditorum pro quibus vel contra auctor scripsit, solvi rationabiliter possint prout Sancti Patres et exegetæ catholici passim præstiterunt? *Resp.* Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III.—Utrum, non obstante praxi quæ a primis temporibus in Universa Ecclesia constantissime viguit, arguendi ex quarto Evangelio tamquam ex documento proprie historico, considerata nihilominus indole peculiari eiusdem Evangelii, et intentione auctoris manifesta illustrandi et vindicandi Christi divinitatem ex ipsis factis et sermonibus Domini, dici possit facta narrata in quarto Evangelio esse totaliter vel ex parte conficta ad hoc ut sint allegoriæ vel symbola doctrinalia, sermones vero Domini non proprie et vere esse ipsius Domini sermones, sed compositiones theologicas scriptoris, licet in ore Domini positas? *Resp.* Negative.

This decree was issued May 29, 1907. See *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, vol. XL, p. 383.

APPENDIX II

Text of Papias mentioning John the Elder (taken from prologue of Papias' five books on "The Lord's Discourses," cited by Eusebius in his *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39, Migne, *P. G.*, XX, coll. 296-97).

Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συνκατατάξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν· οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας, καί ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγενομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος, ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἤ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

. . . . .

St. Ignatius of Antioch (*Ad Philadelph.*, VII, 1; Migne, *P. L.*, V, col. 832):

τὸ πνεῦμά μου οὐ πλανᾶται. Παρὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ ἀυτὸ εἴληφα. Οἶδε γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται, καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.

Gospel of John 3:8 (see also John 16:8):

τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται, καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει.

. . . . . .

Extract from the "Hypotyposes" of Clement of Alexandria (given by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, 14; Migne, *P. G.*, XX, col. 552).

Τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον, συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, Πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι Εὐαγγέλιον.

. . . . . .

Boor's Papias text from Philip Sides:

Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν.

. . . . . .

Georgios Hamartolos' Papias text:

Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη· πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν.

CHAPTER V

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

Art. 1: INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE GOSPELS

119. The Synoptics.—The four Gospel records of the words and deeds of Christ are not slavish duplicates, nor yet are they entirely disparate accounts. It is true, they all cover substantially the same subject-matter, namely, the life and teaching of Christ, the God-Man. But each Evangelist treats this subject in an individual manner, his treatment being in the main dictated by the particular purpose he has in view. Even the casual reader, however, cannot help but notice that, of the four Gospels, one (St. John's) is more especially distinctive, standing apart sharply from any one and all of the other three. Matthew, Mark and Luke, on the other hand, despite their notable divergencies, seem each upon the whole to view the history of Christ in a manner common to the other two—through "the same eye" as it were. Hence, the first three Gospels are called Synoptic. The following is a broad outline of their common treatment of Christ's history: Baptism at the Jordan; Temptation; Public Ministry for a lengthy period, chiefly in and about Galilee; Journey from Galilee to Jerusalem;[1] activity of several days in and about Jerusalem; the seizure, trial, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of Jesus. And, within this broad framework, whole series of pericopes run in the same order—sometimes in all three, oftener in only two, of the Synoptic accounts.

[1] Had one to judge by the Synoptic Pasch data alone, one would conclude there was but a single Pasch during the time of Christ's public ministry, and consequently that the latter lasted only about a year and a half (as Belser indeed maintains). But St. John's Gospel indicates several Paschs.

120. The State of the Question.—The point is not: Why is the Fourth Gospel so different from the other three? But the problem is basically: *Why are Matthew, Mark and Luke so like each other?* Is it because one (or two) of the Synoptics utilized the work of the others (or the third) in compiling his (their) own account?[2] Or is it because the three Synoptics drew from a common source outside of all? If the latter, was this source written or oral?

The chief factors in a study of the Synoptic Problem are, on the one hand, the *parallels* or *similarities* (both in the order and matter of the pericopes and in the particular propositions and wording within each pericope itself) traceable between two Synoptic accounts; and, on the other hand, the *divergencies* evident between any two Synoptics, especially the *omissions* and *additions* which one Synoptic Gospel has as compared with another. In Synoptic theories which favor a direct literary dependence of one Gospel on another, it is particularly necessary that the divergencies be given full rating and value in the computation.

Indeed, one might venture to say that the two current opposed groups of Synoptic theories are based upon the fact that one group of scripturists emphasizes the similarities of the Synoptics (direct literary dependence hypothesis), whilst another is rather impressed by the divergencies present, despite the parallels (dependence on oral tradition). In order to be adequate, any Synoptic theory must account satisfactorily for both similarities and diversities and their concurrence. The two groups of factors in the problem, *similarities* and *diversities*, stand directly opposed to each other. The *parallels* indeed argue *for* community of source—if not also for direct derivation of one from another—as the relationship existing between two Synoptics. The *additions and*

[2] Theories which hold that one Evangelist selected or practically copied from another, would seem to bring unfavorable historic and dogmatic implications in their train. For, in such case, the Synoptic Gospels, instead of presenting, in regard to Christ's words and deeds, the testimony of "two or three witnesses, in whose mouth every word shall stand" (Matt. 18: 16; Deut. 17: 6), might upon a given point be based upon the word of one historian or witness alone.

omissions argue, if not against a common origin, at least against a direct literary derivation of any one Synoptic from another. The force of these factors, whilst it appears in the translations also, can best be appreciated by accurate and detailed checking of one Synoptic with another in the original text.

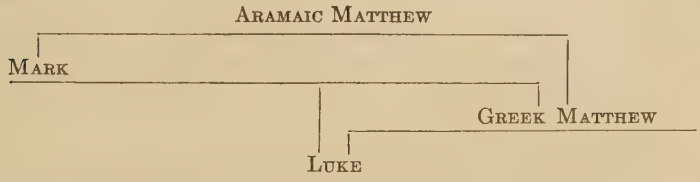
Art. 2: SOME SYNOPTIC THEORIES

121. Two Groups.—As was mentioned above, scripturists' theories essaying solution of the Synoptic Problem fall broadly into two groups. Both classes admit, indeed postulate, an undeniable general similarity between the first three Gospels.

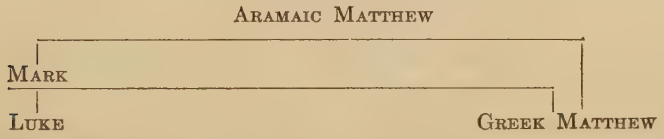
122. Literary Derivation Theories.—Perhaps the majority of modern non-Catholic scripturists (with numerous irreconcilable variations amongst themselves) favor some kind of theory that the Synoptics all drew, not so much upon each other, but upon one or two written sources anterior to all. As such sources, there have been imagined *Q* (*uelle*) or the *Logia* (as a collection of Christ's discourses) and perhaps a Proto-Mark (which might be a collection of acts and facts of Christ's life) to serve as an historic framework. No convincing proof for the real existence of these supposed primitive source-documents has as yet been adduced. At the most, *Q* or the *Logia* seem to come to nothing else than Aramaic Matthew; and Proto-Mark is practically identical with Mark. Hence, a considerable number of these scripturists have assumed Mark's to be the first Gospel, and the source for Matthew and Luke. When logically applied to the present texts, these schemes result in such palpable absurdities and impossibilities that they have to be rejected.

Other theories of direct literary dependence are advocated by many Catholic scripturists. Belser's summary may serve as an example. "The Apostle Matthew is the primitive Evangelist: he composed an Aramaic instruction identical with the canonic (Greek) Matthew. For his own content Mark is dependent upon this Gospel of Matthew, which he knew and used as a secondary source (the first being Petrine tradition) in compiling his own memoirs. Luke, at the time of com-

posing his Gospel, had before him at Rome Mark's Gospel, on one hand, as a source, and on the other the Aramaic Matthew. Luke has taken from both, but also from oral tradition."[1] To this Belser adds: "Lastly, Luke made constant reference to the Greek canonic Matthew." The Greek translator of Matthew is supposed to have consulted Mark. Hence, the canonic Greek Gospel of Matthew would have been influenced by the earlier Gospel of Mark—which is the opinion of Lagrange.[2] In this sense, a certain priority over Matthew and Luke might be assignable to Mark.[3] The following schematic sketches may serve to make plain several forms of these Synoptic theories.



This would place the Greek translation of Matthew quite early. But whether Luke used the Greek or even the Aramaic Matthew, is not so evident as that he may have used Mark. Hence the order of influence might be as follows:



These theories of the direct literary derivation or influence operative amongst the Synoptics, seem to serve well to explain the similarities of the first three Gospels—similarities which at times are almost word-for-word parallels. That they per-

[1] Belser, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Herder, 1905), p. 228.
[2] *L'Évangile selon St. Matthieu* (Paris, 1923), p. lix.
[3] That the Greek Matthew has a dependence relationship with Mark, that the latter is in the above sense more primitive (whilst the absolute priority of Aramaic Matthew is upheld), is also the opinion of H. Höpfl, O.S.B., in his *Introd. Specialis in Libros N. T.* (Rome, 1926)). Be it noted likewise that the Decree of the Biblical Commission (of June 26, 1912, *Dub.* V) specifically admits that Mark and Luke may have been composed before Greek Matthew.

haps prove too much, and make the equally evident diversities become a difficulty, might be contended by the supporters of the following theory.

123. Oral Catechesis Theory.—Older than any of the above direct literary derivation theories for explaining the Synoptic Problem, and advocated by at least an equally large number of Catholic scripturists, is the theory that the extraordinary similarities of the Synoptic Gospels are due to the fact that their authors drew for most of their information from an external common source: the oral catechesis or routine instruction used by the Apostles and their disciples in delivering τὸ εὐαγγέλιον to the primitive Church. This theory agrees with the non-Catholic one above noted, in so far as it postulates an extra-Evangelical common source. But it differs therefrom in so far as it claims this source to have been oral—not written, as the hypothetical *Logia* and Proto-Mark were assumed to be.

The oral catechesis theory basically supposes that there was a formalized and routine series of instructions by which the Apostles and disciples imparted the "glad tidings" of the deeds and words of Christ to the first converts, both Jewish and heathen, in accordance with Christ's own parting command: "Going, therefore, teach ye all nations" (Matt. 28: 19–20). During the ten or twelve years after Christ's Ascension, before the first word of any Gospel was written, the account of Christ's life and teaching was already widely preached. The Apostles, and others who had seen the Lord, would again and again before various groups in Palestine and Asia Minor have been obliged to recount the history of the Master—what He had done and said.[4] After all, this must have been the burden of the primitive "Gospel."

[4] As Christ taught by word of mouth, so He instructed His first disciples to follow His own method: "He sent them to preach (not: write) the Kingdom of God" (Luke 9: 2). The wisdom of the oral method in primitive instruction is evident. No written message interprets itself. The best text-book cannot replace a teacher's oral explanation. Thus, already the First Council of Jerusalem sent with its letter to Antioch men who should explain "by word of mouth" the decree issued (Acts 15: 23–29). Note also II Thes. 2: 2 for example of the misuse of St. Paul's written message.

The Apostles' preaching would soon tend to repeat itself along certain lines. The life of Christ in the oral catechesis would necessarily have to be brief, condensed, and summary. Certain groups of facts and deeds would form into regular cycles, stereotyped, and occur again and again in preaching. Quickly each Apostle may be conjectured to have formed a usual outline, derived from the common eyewitness fund, but varied somewhat according to personal idiosyncrasies and the needs of the audience.

Some procedure of this kind would become all the more imperative as soon as others, besides the very persons who had seen and heard Christ Himself, came to share in the dissemination of Christian doctrine. The process of "evangelization" or "catechization" would thus very soon tend to assume a rather fixed form, even with various instructors. These would strive to deviate as little as possible from what they themselves had received—in fact, only in so far as details of their matter might have to be accommodated to the character and knowledge of their hearers, who might be Jews, Romans, Greeks. Thus would early be established a common body[5] of information concerning Christ's life and teaching, which would be the same substantially and even in considerable detail, whether delivered at Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, or Rome.

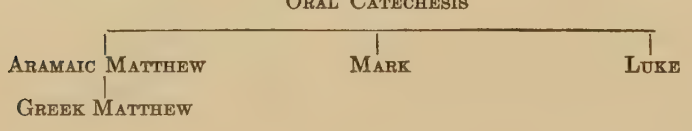
124. Historical Detail not Needed.—The Apostles themselves having been eyewitnesses of Christ's words and deeds, the important point in their discourses would not have been the exact time and place, but rather the fact that Christ said and did such and such. Thus, for their argument they would easily group together facts that occurred at different dates, or combine into one discourse sayings pronounced under various circumstances. When at length the substance of the Apostolic preaching was committed to writing, the same peculiarities of the oral catechesis would naturally appear. Hence the lack of strict historical sequence.

[5] For preaching purposes, the whole life of Christ would conveniently be comprised in four cycles: (1) the preparation of Christ for His ministry; (2) the Galilean ministry; (3) the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem; (4) the last week in Jerusalem, passion, death, and resurrection.

Was any of this oral catechesis set down in writing before any of the Synoptics were written? That is not impossible, nor even improbable. Yet, it has never been established. Indeed, there is some indication that committing the apostolic oral tradition to writing was not encouraged at first by the Apostles.[6] They had been divinely commissioned to preach, not to write. Thus, relative to Mark's Gospel setting down Peter's preaching in writing, Clement of Alexandria says that, "when Peter heard of it, he neither directly forbade it nor encouraged it."[7] Yet by the time Luke's Gospel came to be composed, "many" had already "taken in hand to set forth" (Luke 1:1) Christ's history, thus encouraging Luke to his own work.

But, is there evidence that any of the Synoptics used the oral catechesis as the source of their Gospels? This is beyond doubt for Mark and Luke. Luke indeed states the fact plainly in his prologue, saying that he records accurately what not only he but all Christians (ἡμῖν) have received as "handed down by those who were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." As for Mark, Papias and Clement of Alexandria are quoted by Eusebius[8] as emphasizing that Mark's Gospel was but a record of Peter's instructions.

The following is a diagrammatic representation of the oral catechesis theory:

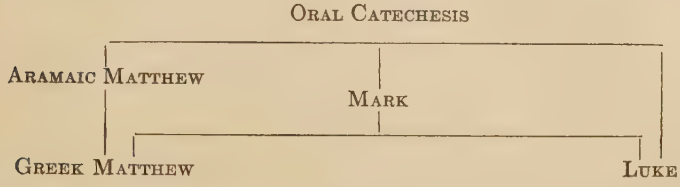


[6] The primary function of the Apostles was to be *witnesses* (not historians) of Christ's life, deeds, words, death, and resurrection: "You shall be witnesses unto Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts 1:8; compare Acts 1:21–22 on function of apostolic office). This St. John emphasizes also: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled . . . we do testify and declare unto you" (I John 1:1–2).

[7] Cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 14, 7.

[8] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 15, III, 39, VI, 14.

If this be modified by the acceptance of a Markan literary influence on Greek Matthew and on Luke, it might be outlined as follows:



It is perhaps some such combination of direct literary derivation and oral catechesis theories that will practically be adopted.

Art. 3: SAMPLE COMPARISON OF THE SYNOPTICS

125. Difficulties of Evaluation.—The final judgment on attempts at solving the Synoptic Problem must necessarily be left to experts. The individual factors to be examined are so numerous and delicate that a lifetime might be spent at the tedious but fascinating task. It means, first of all, a comparison of the Synoptics section by section, pericope by pericope. The sequence as well as the transpositions of the pericopes have to be accurately tabulated; also the pericopes added and omitted as between any two Synoptics.[1] Next, the pericopes which are parallel must be analyzed singly, thought by thought and phrase by phrase, to note whether there is evidence of literary derivation or only coincidence in subject matter. And here mere mechanical statistic tabulation may not be overvalued, although, practically, it must be used.

Tables of pericope comparisons are too long and intricate to be reproduced here. They may be seen in Lagrange's commentaries.[2] Of the detail examination a sample is given herewith (pp. 146–147), namely, a comparison of the account given

[1] Some series of most important pericope sequences are given above in Chapter III, Art. 3 ("Sources of Luke's Gospel").

[2] Most useful for such work is the *Synopsis Evangelica* (Paris, 1926) of Lagrange-Lavergne, which has tabulated the Greek text of the Gospels according to the chronological order indicated by Luke and John.

COMPARISON OF

Matthew (M) 20:29–34	Mark (K) 10:46–52
(1)	Καὶ ἔρχονται
(2)	εἰς Ἰεριχώ.
(3) Καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν	Καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ
(4) ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ	ἀπὸ Ἰεριχὼ
(5) ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ	καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ
(6) ὄχλος πολύς.	καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ
(7) Καὶ ἰδοὺ	.....
(8)	ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος,
(9) δύο τυφλοὶ	τυφλὸς [προσαίτης],
(10) καθήμενοι παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,	ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν
(11)	[προσαίτης].
(12) ἀκούσαντες	Καὶ ἀκούσας
(13)	.....
(14)	.....
(15)	.....
(16) ὅτι Ἰησοῦς	ὅτι Ἰησοῦς
(17)	ὁ Ναζαρηνός
(18) παράγει,	ἐστιν
(19) ἔκραξαν λέγοντες·	ἤρξατο κράζειν καὶ λέγειν·
(20) κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, υἱὸς Δαυίδ.	υἱὲ Δαυὶδ Ἰησοῦ, ἐλέησόν με.
(21) Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος	Καὶ [πολλοὶ]
(22) ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς	ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ [πολλοὶ]
(23) ἵνα σιωπήσωσιν·	ἵνα σιωπήσῃ·
(24) οἱ δὲ μεῖζον ἔκραξαν λέγοντες·	ὁ δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν·
(25) κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, υἱὸς Δαυίδ.	υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με.
(26) Καὶ στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς	Καὶ στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
(27)	εἶπεν·
(28) ἐφώνησεν αὐτοὺς	φωνήσατε αὐτόν.
(29)	Καὶ φωνοῦσι τὸν τυφλὸν,
(30)	λέγοντες αὐτῷ·
(31)	θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε.
(32)	Ὁ δὲ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ
(33)	ἀναπηδήσας
(34)	ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.
(35)	Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς
(36) καὶ εἶπεν·	αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν·
(37) τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν;	τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω;
(38) λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·	ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
(39) κύριε, ἵνα ἀνοιγῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν.	ῥαββουνί, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω.
(40) Σπλαγχνισθεὶς δὲ	.....
(41) ὁ Ἰησοῦς	Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
(42)	εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
(43) ἥψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν,	.....
(44)	ὕπαγε,
(45)	ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.
(46) καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψαν,	Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψεν,
(47) καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.	καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ
(48)	ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.
(49)	.....
(50)	.....
(51)	.....

SYNOPTICS

Luke (L) 18:35–43		Agree	Omit	Add
Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν	(1)	KL	M	
εἰς Ἰεριχὼ	(2)	KL	M	
. . . . .	(3)	MK	L	
. . . . .	(4)	MK	L	
. . . . .	(5)	MK	L	
. . . . .	(6)	MK	L	
. . . . .	(7)		KL	M
. . . . .	(8)		ML	K
τυφλός τις	(9)	MKL		
ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν	(10)	MKL		
προσαιτῶν.	(11)	KL	M	
Ἀκούσας δὲ	(12)	MKL		
ὄχλου διαπορευομένου	(13)		MK	L
ἐπυνθάνετο τί εἴη τοῦτο.	(14)		MK	L
Ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτῷ	(15)		MK	L
ὅτι Ἰησοῦς	(16)	MKL		
ὁ Ναζωραῖος	(17)	KL	M	
παρέρχεται.	(18)	MKL		
Καὶ ἐβόησε λέγων·	(19)	MKL		
Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με.	(20)	MKL		
Καὶ οἱ προάγοντες	(21)	MKL		
ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ	(22)	MKL		
ἵνα σιγήσῃ·	(23)	MKL		
αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν·	(24)	MKL		
υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με.	(25)	MKL		
Σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς	(26)	MKL		
ἐκέλευσεν	(27)	KL	M	
αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν.	(28)	MKL		
. . . . .	(29)		ML	K
. . . . .	(30)		ML	K
. . . . .	(31)		ML	K
. . . . .	(32)		ML	K
. . . . .	(33)		ML	K
Ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ	(34)	KL	M	
ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν	(35)	KL	M	
λέγων·	(36)	MKL		
τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω;	(37)	MKL		
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·	(38)	MKL		
κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω.	(39)	MKL		
. . . . .	(40)		KL	M
Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς	(41)	MKL		
εἶπεν αὐτῷ·	(42)	KL	M	
ἀνάβλεψον·	(43)	ML		
. . . . .	(44)		ML	K
ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.	(45)	KL	M	
Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν,	(46)	MKL	K	
καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ	(47)	MKL		
. . . . .	(48)		ML	K
δοξάζων τὸν θεόν.	(49)		MK	L
Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν	(50)		MK	L
ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ.	(51)		MK	L

in each of the Synoptics of a miraculous cure of blindness at Jericho (Matt. 20:29–34; Mark 10:46–52; Luke 18:35–43). This pericope was chosen merely for its brevity, and because here the parallels follow largely in the same order and without transpositions, so that they can be readily juxtaposed. Vogels' critical text is used.

126. Summary of Analysis.—What are the conclusions that may be drawn from the accompanying analysis? First of all, taking on one hand the *parallels* between two Synoptics as *similarities,* and on the other their mutual *omissions* and *additions* as *diversities,* it is seen that, in the pericope under consideration, the *sum of the similarities* in every combination *exceeds* the total of both omissions and additions considered as *diversities.* In short, any two Synoptics appear more alike than different. If it be allowable to set the proportion down statistically, it might appear as follows:

Between MATTHEW and MARK

Similarities = 25 Diversities = 20

Between LUKE and MARK

Similarities = 30 Diversities = 19

Between MATTHEW and LUKE

Similarities = 22 Diversities = 21

Out of 51 thought-items, all three Synoptics concur to have 21 alike—leaving 30 divergencies. This factor of 21 triple parallels must be taken into consideration in evaluating the *similarities* above given—as, for example, Luke's "Jesus, Son of David, have pity on me!" might be derivable from either Matthew or Mark.

It will immediately be noted that, for this sample pericope, the similarities are most numerous and the diversities least between Mark and Luke, but that the balance is most nearly even between Matthew and Luke, the latter combination having always been considered least probable. In fact, in this pericope Luke might have obtained from Mark alone every-

thing that he shares with Matthew. For the quoted Ἀνάβλεψον (item 43) is hardly an exact parallel to Matthew's narrative ἥψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Matthew and Luke are each more like to Mark than to each other.

But there can be no question that either Matthew or Luke derived their information solely from Mark. For Matthew adds at least the Σπλαγχνισθεὶς (item 40), not to mention that he speaks of "two blind men" throughout, where Mark mentions but one. And Luke adds at least six items to Mark's content.

The diversities, in any combination, are seen to be close in number to the similarities, showing the independence of each Evangelist in his account—an independence that argues the availability to him of sources not connected with any other Evangelist. The most one might venture to say of this sample analysis is that it shows that Mark was derived somehow from Matthew (or *vice versa*), but added and omitted considerable matter, and that Luke was somehow derived from Mark, but clung closer to his source. Thus might the greater similarity between Luke and Mark (than between Matthew and Mark) be accounted for, as also at the same time the notably greater divergencies between Matthew and Luke. The conclusions could scarcely be pushed further than this: Matthew and Luke are more like to Mark than to each other; Luke is closer to Mark than Matthew is; the similarities between any two Synoptics outbalance their diversities—but not excessively.

Art. 4: MARKAN PROMINENCE IN SYNOPTICS

127. Mark the Link.—Whence comes it that Mark's Gospel appears like a link somehow joining the accounts of Matthew and Luke? Does the prominence of Markan elements of content and order in the other two Synoptics indicate that the translator of Matthew into Greek and the author of the Third Gospel had read and did use Mark's account in doing their own work? It is widely answered: Yes. Yet, the evi-

dence based on the similarities does not seem necessarily to prove this beyond doubt.[1]

The internal evidence of the Synoptics themselves does not afford full conviction. On the other hand, there is abundant external testimony regarding the source of the very Gospel which seems to have influenced the other two Synoptics—namely, Mark's. And the insistent burden of this testimony is: *Mark wrote in close conformity to Peter's oral catechesis.* The following are some of these evidences.

128. Patristic Testimony on Mark.—Papias heard from John the Presbyter: "Mark indeed, having been Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately whatsoever he remembered—although not indeed in [chronologic] sequence—of the things both said and done by Christ. He . . . was a follower of Peter who made his instructions according to the needs [of the occasion], and not as making an orderly sequence of the Lord's *logia.* Thus Mark . . . made a point of one matter to omit nothing of what he heard, and to make no false statement therein."[2] Tertullian, defending the authority of the Gospels against Marcion, says: "The Gospel which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, for Mark was his interpreter."[3] Clement of Alexandria is cited to the same effect by Eusebius: "The Gospel according to Mark had this origin: As Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and had declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who had been present requested that Mark, who had followed him (Peter) for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And he, having composed the Gospel, gave it to those who had asked for it."[4] Similar is Eusebius' summing of the same point elsewhere: "So greatly did the splendor of religion illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not

[1] "The similarity is so great as to be overwhelming at first sight; the minute differences are so extraordinary that they compel us to repudiate a theory which suggests that any Evangelist had the text of another before him as he wrote" (H. Pope, O.P., in *Student's Aids to the Study of the Bible,* vol. II, p. 307, London, 1922).

[2] See full Greek text, p. 72.

[3] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem,* IV, 5.

[4] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* VI, 14.

content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them."[5] These and other testimonies demonstrate the intimate connection between Mark's Gospel and Peter's oral catechesis. And that Mark's Gospel has little admixed from sources other than the Petrine instructions, seems probable from the fact that, according to Papias, Mark "had neither heard the Lord nor followed Him," and that those who petitioned him to write asked for a record of that which Peter had preached.

129. Mark and Peter.—Lastly, but not of least importance, comes the fact that Mark had been acting for some time—at least a year—as Peter's interpreter, translating the Apostle's Aramaic discourses into Greek (probably first at Antioch, perhaps in other Greek cities through which their journey led, certainly at Rome). Thus, constant repetition of the same or similar instructions to Gentile audiences would have served to fix their content and even their language in a stereotyped form in Mark's mind.

From Peter's standpoint also, there would be little variation in his accounts—partially in order to aid Mark in his function of interpreter—as given to various Gentile groups. These would all require about the same basic and elementary instructions. And precisely of such does Mark's Gospel appear to be a compilation, its heterogeneous order reflecting Peter's practice of accommodating his matter to occasion and audience.

130. Mark Represents Standard Catechesis.—From all this it seems safe to conclude that *Mark's Gospel most closely and most purely reflects the apostolic oral catechesis,* especially as developed and crystallized during the ten or twelve years that Peter had been repeating (in Palestine chiefly and then outside) the history of Christ's life and teaching. What follows from this in the way of throwing light on the Synoptic

[5] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 15.

peculiarities? It follows that, if Matthew and Luke are somehow dependent upon or derived from the apostolic oral catechesis (and for Luke this is undoubtedly, according to his own prologue, the primary and main source of information), then, in proportion as Matthew and Luke adhere to the oral catechesis, they will resemble Mark in content, order, and even style (the latter especially when quoting Christ's words). This, then, would fully account for the similarities undeniably existing between Mark and Luke and between Mark and Matthew. At the same time, it would make clear why Luke parallels Mark more than Matthew does. The reason is simply that Luke was necessarily less independent of the oral catechesis than Matthew was. For Matthew was an Apostle himself and a personal eyewitness of most that he records.

131. Causes of Diversity.—This also suggests the causes of the divergencies of the Synoptics. Of course, each adjusted the same matter somewhat to his own special purpose in writing, etc. But the diversities are perhaps almost as much attributable to certain diversities in the oral catechesis itself. Matthew would have written, in manner and matter, according as he had preached to the *Jews in Palestine,* and would also naturally emphasize those deeds and words of Christ which had impressed himself most forcibly. He, as an eyewitness, would be in a position to add things which Mark or Luke, depending on the testimony of others, could not. Hence a greater divergence is noticeable between Matthew and Mark than between Luke and Mark.

Mark of course, as seen above, seems to have followed closely Peter's oral account, and there is little indication of his having supplemented this from other sources.

Luke, likewise not an eyewitness of Christ's life, had to depend upon tradition. Small wonder, then, that his text "follows Mark so closely," as Lagrange says. But with all his dependence upon the oral catechesis which makes for his close paralleling of Mark, Luke nevertheless embodies considerable omissions and additions as compared with Mark. How are these to be explained? First of all, whilst Mark's source was practically one (namely, Peter's preaching), Luke con-

fessedly, according to his prologue, consulted various authorities, even if it is not proved that he utilized the accounts which he says others had written before him.

Moreover, it is to be expected that, in the twenty-odd years which had passed since the time of Peter's first preaching at Rome, the form of the oral catechesis should have undergone modifications, not only from its primitive Palestinian stage, but also from the straightforward Petrine virility of its best season. Hence, in Luke's Gospel, there is to be found better Greek, indeed, but also less vividness; details do not stand out so sharply as in Mark, both the thought and the language run more smoothly, and little literary slips are corrected.[6] A great factor in the divergence of order between Mark and Luke in the concatenation of incidents and speeches of Christ's life, was no doubt the fact that, beyond the broadest phases of the Baptist's ministry at the beginning, the Galilean tours, and the Passion at the close of Christ's life, Mark was scarcely concerned with chronologic arrangement. Luke, on the other hand, made it a point "to write in order" (καθεξῆς γράψαι). The same reasons would hold good towards explaining the wide divergence between Matthew and Luke, with the additional one that Matthew wrote *ad arguendum* and for the Palestenian Jews, whilst Luke, like Mark, wrote his Gospel *ad narrandum* and for Gentile readers.

Thus, the Markan elements traceable in Matthew and Luke might be explainable, without recourse to direct literary derivation, from the fact that Mark's text is closest to the standard oral catechesis, and that the other two Synoptics appear most like Mark when they cling closest to the common source for all three, the apostolic oral catechesis.

Where this view may fall short is in explaining some almost word-for-word parallels between two Synoptics, espe-

[6] For example, Mark 5: 15 states that, after the evil spirits have been expelled, the Gadarene who had been possessed by them is found "seated and *clothed*"—when it had not been remarked before that he had gone naked in his previous condition. Luke, whilst following Mark quite closely in this account, in the description of the Gadarene's first appearance, notes (beyond Mark) immediately that the possessed man "wore no cloak" (Luke 8: 27).

cially in Christ's discourses. But, after all, there particularly the reverence for the Master's own words would naturally make those transmitting them most careful to avoid any change.

Art. 5: ST. JOHN AND THE SYNOPTICS

132. John Complements Synoptics.—John's Gospel was written many years later than even the latest of the Synoptics. There had been ample time for the shortcomings, and especially the chronological sequence difficulties, of the Synoptics to make themselves felt. St. John the Apostle was the only living authoritative eyewitness of Christ's life. Hence, he might be expected to try to supply for Synoptic shortcomings or explain difficulties, at least tacitly, in his own late work. And such indeed seems to have been the case. The Johannine Gospel fills out the *lacunæ* and adjusts the anachronisms of the Synoptics.

For example, the Synoptics have no record of an early Jerusalem presence of Christ. They simply emphasize the Passion-tide. In connection therewith, they recount the incident of driving the traffickers from the Temple (Matt. 21:12–16; Mark 11:15–18; Luke 19:45–48). But it seems to be presented there as a supplementary and explanatory anticipation of the accusation to be brought against Christ in His trial before Caïphas, that He would "destroy the Temple of God, and in three days rebuild it" (Matt. 26:61; Mark 14:58), Christ having indeed uttered some similar words at the time of the Temple cleansing (John 2:19) three years before the trial. Small wonder that the witnesses could not agree as to the exact wording! St. John places the original incident that gave rise to the accusation, in its proper chronological setting, at the very outset of Christ's public ministry in Jerusalem. The Synoptics, all of whom omit the early work of Christ in Judea in favor of the Galilean preaching, had no suitable context for the incident, and thus mention it supplementarily shortly before the Passion in connection with a Temple visit and in anticipation of the accusation to arise

at the trial before Caiphas. In this and many other cases, one may learn from St. John how to read the Synoptics.[1]

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

De Quæstione Synoptica sive de Mutuis Relationibus inter Tria Priora Evangelia

Propositis pariter sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum, servatis quæ iuxta præcedenter statuta [see p. 89] omnino servanda sunt, præsertim de authenticitate et integritate trium Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, de identitate substantiali Evangelii græci Matthæi cum eius originali primitivo, necnon de ordine temporum quo eadem scripta fuerunt, ad explicandum eorum ad invicem similitudines aut dissimilitudines, inter tot varias oppositasque auctorum sententias, liceat exegetis libere disputare et ad hypotheses traditionis sive scriptæ sive oralis vel etiam dependentiæ unius a præcedenti seu a præcedentibus appellare? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum ea quæ superius statuta sunt, ii servare censeri debeant qui, nullo fulti traditionis testimonio nec historico argumento, facile amplectuntur hypothesim vulgo *duorum fontium* nuncupatam, quæ compositionem Evangelii græci Matthæi et Evangelii Lucæ ex eorum potissimum dependentia ab Evangelio Marci et a collectione sic dicta sermonum Domini, contendit explicare; ac proinde eam libere propugnare valeant? *Resp.* Negative ad utramque partem.

This Decree, together with that on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, was issued June 26, 1912. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, vol. IV (1912), p. 465.

[1] On this matter, see Levesque, *Nos Quatre Évangiles, leur Composition et leur Position Respective* (Paris, 1917).

THIRD PART

EXEGESIS OF SOME GOSPEL TEXTS

Gospel in English means good word, and also good tidings,
Good message,—for that it was through the holy Gospel's text
That Christ's first coming all was wrought and written in a book:
Of how in sooth God was made man for need of all mankind,
Of how mankind through His death was looséd out of hell,
Of how He rose undoubtedly the third day from the dead,
Of how He ascended afterwards undoubtedly to heaven,
Of how He shall return again as judge of all mankind,
To give reward to every man according to his deeds.

From dedication of Midland "Ormulum"; modern version by Sister M. Madeleva, C.S.C.

Modus ipse quo sancta Scriptura contexitur, est omnibus accessibilis, paucissimis penetrabilis; ea quæ aperte continet quasi amicus familiaris sine fuco ad cor loquitur indoctorum atque doctorum; ea vero quæ in mysteriis occultat, nec ipsa eloquio superbo erigit, quo non audeat accedere mens tardiuscula et inerudita, quasi pauper ad divitem. Sed invitat omnes humili sermone, quos non solum manifesta pascat, sed etiam secreta exerceat veritate—hoc tam in promptis quam in reconditis habens. Sed ne aperta fastidirentur, eadem rursus aperta desiderantur, desiderata quodammodo renovantur, renovata suaviter intimantur. His salubriter et prava corriguntur et parva nutriuntur et magna oblectantur ingenia.

St. Augustine, Ad. Volusium (*Ep. 3*).

THIRD PART

EXEGESIS OF SOME GOSPEL TEXTS

Art. 1: THE ANNUNCIATION[1] (Luke 1:26–38)

133. *And in the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth* (Luke 1:26). The time of the Annunciation is specified as being about five months after Elizabeth's conception. The place is an obscure hamlet called Nazareth (from a root meaning to blossom, bloom, put forth green shoots). Nazareth is situated in a little depression in the hills of Galilee, which from its large mixture of foreigners was called "Galilee or Circle of the Gentiles." Nazareth was a village so small and obscure that neither the Old Testament nor Josephus nor the Talmud make any mention of it, and at the time spoken of here its repute was so low that a proverb ran: "Can anything of good come of Nazareth?" (John 1:46).

To a virgin (27). The very first mention of Our Lady in New Testament history is in the term thenceforward to be associated with her name, as her constant title throughout the ages—the Virgin Mary.

Espoused to a man whose name was Joseph (27). The word used in the text for "espoused" may be taken to indicate that no marriage ceremony had as yet taken place, although excellent authorities and strong arguments are in favor of marriage *ratum sed non consummatum.* If the first supposition be accepted, Mary was probably living at the house of her parents, whose names according to tradition were Joachim and Anna. Being possibly an only child, she had, in accordance with the Mosaic injunction of levirate

[1] Reprinted from *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* of January, 1922, by kind permission of its publishers.

marriage, been affianced to a near male relative, Joseph, in order to preserve the family name and property. Judging from the customary nubile ages among the Jews, Mary may have been at this time a girl of from twelve to fourteen years, Joseph a young man of at least eighteen. After engagement, a Hebrew girl continued to live some time with her parents, preparing for the marriage feast, which took place when the bridegroom came, and, amid a rejoicing escort of youths and maidens, brought the bride to his own house and lifted her across the threshold.

Whose name was Joseph (27). Joseph signifies "increase," and Bl. Albert the Great, commenting upon this name, says: "Most fittingly is this name applied to him who in the divine plan was increased greatly, both as regards himself, as regards others, and in regard to God, by augment of virtues, by celebrity of renown, by the respect and love of men, by intimate association with the Mother of God, and by being the foster-father of Christ." [2]

Of the House of David (27). According to the text this phrase may refer directly not to Joseph but to Mary, reading consequently: ". . . to a virgin of the House of David, espoused to a man named Joseph." Throughout the centuries of previous Hebrew history, prophetic voices had ever more and more definitely proclaimed the line of carnal descent of the Saviour of the Jews and of mankind. Abraham kneeling before the altar on which he had been prepared to sacrifice Isaac, his only son, heard God's words: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 22:18). Juda, in Egypt, standing beside the death-bed of his father Jacob, heard the latter's testament prophecy: "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor ruler from his thigh, until he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the Expected of nations" (Gen. 49:10). Later the Prophet Isaias, consoling the nation in captivity, promises that "there shall come forth a shoot out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his stock" (Is. 11:1).

[2] In Lépicier, *De Sancto Ioseph*, p. 43.

Finally, Ethan the Ezrahite, in Psalm 88:4, 5, 27, 28, 30, 36, recalled the solemn oath of God:

> I have made a covenant with my chosen one;
> I have sworn to David my servant:
> "Thy house will I establish forever
> And I will build up thy throne
> Unto generation and generation. . . .
> He shall cry out to Me:
> 'Thou art my Father, my God,
> And the support of my salvation.'"
> And I will make him My first-born,
> High above the kings of the earth.
> And I will make his house to endure forevermore,
> And his throne as the days of heaven. . . .
> Once I have sworn by My holiness:
> I will not lie unto David:
> His house shall endure forever.

And then, as had also been foretold, the drear days of Israel's decadence had come; David's descendants had forsaken God's law and had not walked in His judgments and had not kept His commandments. And God's threats had been fulfilled. He had indeed "visited their iniquities with a rod and punished their sins with stripes." The House of David had fallen so low that among its last scions were a poor girl, dwelling far from the royal city, and a lowly artisan of Nazareth. Yet His "mercy the Lord had not taken away, nor suffered His truth to fail" (Ps. 88:31–34). And now, mindful of His promise, God would once more, through its most virtuous members, raise up and exalt the House of David and set up "its throne as the sun before Him, and as the moon, to endure forever" (Ps. 88:38).

134. *And the virgin's name was Mary* (27). Etymologically, the derivation of this name is undecided, and the variety of plausible interpretations that have arisen about it, seem in themselves to insinuate that so diverse and universal are Our Lady's excellencies that no single and simple name could successfully comprehend their characterization. According to one derivation, favored by St. John Damascene, Mary signifies "Mistress, Lady," being allied to St. Paul's Aramaic expression, "Maranatha—the Lord cometh." Hence the com-

mon appellation of Mary as "Our Lady." A variation of this would make Mary be the same as "Mistress or Lady of the Sea," the latter symbolizing, as Lépicier notes, the present life of man, ever tossing in vicissitudes of change and fraught with perils of reefs and wreck-strewn rocks. St. Jerome seems to prefer to derive "Mary" from a root signifying "bitterness," compounded with "sea"—therefore, "a sea of bitterness." In connection herewith may be quoted the words of Noemi to her countrywomen of Bethlehem: "Call me not Noemi [that is, beautiful], but call me Mara [that is, bitter], for the Almighty hath quite filled me with bitterness" (Ruth 1:20). Lastly, recent interpreters give authority to the meaning of "the rebellious or obstinate one," grounding themselves on an incident in the life of the similarly named sister of Moses, as related in the Book of Numbers (chap. 12).

Beautifully has Cardinal Lépicier summed up the three chief significations attached to Our Lady's name: "In the first place, Mary, by becoming Mother of the Incarnate Word, became also sovereign and mistress of the universe. Furthermore, since she was destined by God to coöperate with Jesus Christ in the ransoming of the human race, she had to suffer the greatest torments which a pure creature ever endured. Lastly, by virtue of her Immaculate Conception, she was the first person to shake off the unhallowed yoke of the evil one, and thus in her own person to offer to God the first fruits of Redemption. The name of Mary, therefore, is at one time synonymous with her unrivaled greatness, with her fathomless sorrows and with her splendid victories." [3]

135. *And the angel being come in* (28). The apocryphal Gospel of James represents the Annunciation as taking place at a well outside Nazareth, whither Mary had gone to draw water. But the verb used in this text implies that Our Lady was at this time in some chamber of her house, as she is correctly pictured in the miraculous image preserved in the Servite Church of the Nunziata at Florence.

Said unto her: "Hail, full of grace!" (28). "Hail" here

[3] Lépicier, *Fairest Flower*, p. 15.

paraphrases for St. Luke's readers the ordinary ancient Hebrew greeting formula: "Peace to thee!" But the next appellative—"full of grace"—is an expression unique in its application to Mary. Only in one other passage of the New Testament is the verb χαριτόω, from which this participle comes, to be found (Eph. 1:6), and as used there it has not the intense and completed force it has here. In other passages where the English translation reads "full of grace," as: "Stephen, full of grace and fortitude, did great wonders . . ." (Acts 6:8; John 1:14), the text uses a more common construction.

What, then, is the meaning of this singular title applied to Mary, at which, according to the following verse, she "was troubled"? Was it applied to her because of the Incarnation? This had yet to take place. Was it because of her divine maternity? This was still problematic, while the verb implies a state already attained. Undiminished fullness is denoted; grace is predicated as co-extensive with Mary's whole being, and not even a time limit is set (the participle being in the definite perfect form); it is stated of Mary that during her whole existence she was throughout the entire extent of her being filled with grace. Hence, she must have been so even at the first moment of that existence; therefore, according to this text, Mary must have been conceived without original sin. The angel greets her with the title by which even at that moment, before the Incarnation, she was unique among mankind: the Immaculate Conception. Thus also the Bull *Ineffabilis,* defining this dogma, cites the above text as its strongest Scripture basis: "The fathers and writers of the Church, reflecting that the Blessed Virgin was called 'full of grace' by Gabriel at God's own bidding . . . taught that by this unique and solemn greeting, heard nowhere else, it was shown that Mary was the seat of all divine graces, adorned with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost, yea, that she was an almost infinite treasure and an inexhaustible abyss of these gifts, so that having never been subject to the curse, and ever a sharer with her Son of perpetual blessing, she rightly deserved to hear from Elizabeth, who was moved by the Holy

Ghost, the words: 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb.' " Thus it is that, from the hour of the angelic greeting, all sinful children of Adam cry out to the spotless Mother of the Redeemer in the words of the poet:

> Woman above all women glorified!
> Our tainted nature's solitary boast:
> Purer than foam on central ocean tost,
> Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak
> With fancied roses—than th' unblemished moon
> Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast,
> Thy image falls to earth. (*Wordsworth.*)

The mystery of the Incarnation, then, had for its fitting prelude the revelation of the mystery of the Immaculate Conception.

136. *The Lord is with thee* (28). These words are frequently used in Old Testament greeting formulas, but there always rather as a friendly wish: "The Lord be with thee!" But in this passage the words have been constantly interpreted as a statement, continuing in Hebrew parallel the foregoing thought. God, who is soon to be bodily in Mary, is already present and has been from her very beginning present in her being by His grace, in an unsurpassed degree of intensity.

Blessed art thou among women (28). Since the best authorities concur in considering these words here as interpolation of Elizabeth's praise, comment upon them is omitted.

137. *Who having heard was troubled at his saying and thought with herself what manner of salutation this might be* (29). Unlike Zachary in the Temple, Mary was not disturbed at the sight of the angel. But her unclouded intellect, illumined by the all-revealing light of the Holy Spirit, grasped instantaneously the tremendous import of the vast revelation just made to her, namely, that her nature had been dignified with the most exalted privilege ever accorded to a child of Adam, that she had been conceived without the least stain of sin. The Immaculate Conception, being a fact of the purely supernatural and gratuitous order, could not have been

known for certain even to Mary, except by divine revelation. And this revelation had just been made in the words, "full of grace." The lowly maiden of Galilee, the lily of the valley of Nazareth, realizing, in proportion to the greatness of her sanctity, the abasement of her personal nothingness before God, was loath to accept this supreme encomium. Her humility dared not raise its eyes to contemplate the vista of glory that had been opened before her. And then, as she turned this word over in her mind, a deep awe and apprehension seized upon her soul of what other far-reaching divine decrees, as yet unknown to her, this greeting might prognosticate. Well did Mary realize that in the plans of Providence "unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required" (Luke 12:48); well might she shudder in reverent dread of the full contents of the message to which the revelation of this astounding mystery was the opening prelude.

138. *And the angel said to her: "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God"* (30). To reassure and calm the troubled virgin, the angel calls her, not by her previous glorious title, but by the familiar name of Mary.

The present verse is paralleled in the announcement to Zachary: "Fear not, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard" (Luke 1:13). From this and from the fact that the expression, "to find grace with," is constantly used in the Old Testament in connection with requesting or granting favors (Gen. 18:3, 19:19, 33:15; Exod. 33:12, etc.), it would seem to mean: "Be not disturbed, Mary, for God has granted thy petition." Now, what may have been the object of Mary's continual pleading before the throne of the Almighty, which merited having an angel announce its accomplishment? What else could it have been than the sublimated and intensified prayer of all the holy ones of the Old Testament, expressed so poetically by Isaias: "Drop Him down as dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the Just One; let the earth be opened and bud forth a Saviour" (45:8)? In this sense St. Bernard comments: "Mary is the one who obtained the reparation of the whole world, who besought the salvation of all. For it is clear that she was concerned with the salvation

of all mankind when it was said to her: 'Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God'—the favor, indeed, which thou wast ever asking for.'' [4]

Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus (31). Phrase by phrase, changing only the person to one of direct address, the angel follows the wording of the great birth prophecy of Isaias (7:14): ''Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and she shall call His name God-with-us.'' There can be no uncertainty left in the mind of the maiden of Nazareth as to the import of the angel's visitation. At his allusion there now rose before her Scripture-steeped mind the memorable and fatal day when King Achaz, like herself of the House of David, was superintending the preparations of defense of Jerusalem as against Damascus, near the end of ''the aqueduct of the Upper Pool, beside the road to the Fuller's Field.'' For, on that day and in that place, Israel, through its rulers, formally set its feet upon the fearful road that led to the judgment hall of Pilate and ended at Golgotha. For Achaz insolently refused the help God proffered, and turned rather to Egypt, to men. Thereupon, God rejected the House of David in a dreadful curse, which at the same time reiterated more definitely than ever the promise of a Redeemer who, for the last time, would put to a test of faith the God-forsaken Hebrew race.

Mary now understood that she was to be the woman of whom it had been foretold in Genesis (3:15) that she would crush the serpent's head, the wondrous new creation God had shown Jeremias (31:22), the ''woman who would compass a man''; that she who, according to Micheas (5:3), had been in labor since the promise in Paradise, would now at length give birth.

139. *He shall be great, and shall be called Son of the Most High* (32). In the solemn pulsating rhythm of ancient Hebrew poetry, the angel proceeds to outline the nature and functions of the Virgin's Child. ''He shall be great''—that

[4] St. Bernard, *Serm. iv de Assumptione.*

is, He shall be the absolute Great One, God, according to the Psalmist's "Great is the Lord . . . and of His greatness there shall be no end" (Ps. 94:3). "And shall be called the Son of the Most High"—that is, translating the Hebraism: "He shall be the Son of God," again echoing the Psalm (2:7): "The Lord hath said: 'Thou art My son; this day have I begotten Thee,' " in which last clause the eternal procession of the Son from the Father is clearly indicated.

And the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of David His father (32). Having proclaimed the divinity of the Person of Mary's future Son, the angel now goes on to indicate His earthly functions as Messias, or Saviour. This description is embodied in the symbolism of the promised reconstitution of the Davidic dynasty in an enlarged spiritual sense. " 'Behold the days come,' saith the Lord, 'that I will perform the good word that I have spoken to the House of Israel and to the House of David. In those days and in that time I will make the Bud of Justice to spring forth unto David' " (Jer. 33:14–16). "And I will set up one Shepherd over them; . . . even my servant David. He shall feed them and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My servant David the Prince in the midst of them" (Ezech. 34:23–24). And soon indeed shall the righteous of Israel be able to exclaim in the exultant sentences of Isaias: "A Child is born to us, and a Son is given to us, and the government shall be upon His shoulder. And His name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Father of the World to Come, Prince of Peace. Of the greatness of His government and of His peace there shall be no end. He shall sit upon the throne of David and be placed over his kingdom to establish it and to strengthen it with justice and with judgment from henceforth even forever" (Is. 9:6–7).

140. *And He shall reign in the House of Jacob forever* (32). As the preceding clause emphasized the royal dignity of the Saviour to come, so the present one indicates the universality of the Messianic reign, implied by the twelve sons of Jacob, forbears of the Twelve Tribes. For the dynasty of David during the greater part of its existence governed but

two of the Twelve Tribes, since ten of these, constituting the northern kingdom of Ephraim, or Samaria, and symbolizing the Gentiles, had seceded from their co-nationals after the reign of Solomon. But under the Messias' reign all the children of the ancient promises given Jacob, last of the Patriarchs, shall once more be united, as the Prophets foretold: "I will make of them one nation . . . and one King shall be king over them. And they shall no more be two peoples, neither shall they be divided any more into kingdoms. . . . They shall be My people and I will be their God. And My servant David shall be King over them, and they shall have one shepherd" (Ezech. 37:22, 24). It may be noted, moreover, that in Jacob the priestly and royal functions were not yet distinct. Thus, the union of these two dignities in the Messias is also implied by His ruling over the House of Jacob forever.

And of His Kingdom there shall be no end (33). First is Mary of mortals to hear the glorious title of the spiritual Messianic organization, the Church, called constantly in the Gospels "the Kingdom of God" or "the Kingdom of Heaven." And this kingdom over which her Son should reign and of which she, herself, should be Queen, should endure, not for some centuries as did David's earthly government, but unto all days of eternity. Well were its glories summed up in the surpassing rhapsody of Isaias: "Lift up thy eyes, O Jerusalem, round about, and see: All these are gathered together, are come to thee. Thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall rise up at thy side.

> Then shalt thou see and flow together, and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged,
> When the multitude like the sea shall be turned unto thee
> And the armies of Gentiles shall come over to thee. . . .
> Therefore thy gates shall be open continually;
> They shall not be shut day nor night. . . .
> I will make thee an everlasting glory,
> A joy unto generation and generation.
> Thy sun shall no more go down, nor thy moon decrease,
> For the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light,
> And the days of thy mourning shall be ended.
>
> (Is. 60, *passim.*)

141. *And Mary said to the angel: "How shall this be done, because I know not man?"* (34). Zachary, in the Temple, had burst out in the bluntness of his unbelief: "Whereby shall I know this?" demanding a present sensible sign as a guarantee of truthfulness from the divine messenger. Mary's meek objection implies no doubt of the angel's veracity, for, in reference to this very announcement, it is later said to her by Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou that hast believed!" (Luke 1:45)—in contrast to Zachary, who refused credence. Mary's question, then, simply lays before the angel the apparent irreconcilability of conception with her perpetual virginity, which latter is expressed in the Hebrew euphemism, "because I know not man."

But was not Mary already aware from the Prophecies that the Mother of the Messias should be a virgin? Of several solutions of this difficulty, Lépicier's seems most preferable. According to this, on account of the obscurity of the Old Testament prophecies in their details, despite their definiteness in essentials, it was not clear to Mary's mind whether or not she should remain a virgin in and after her conception. As St. Ambrose notes: "Rightly did she inquire how this might be brought about. For she had read that a virgin should bring forth, but she had not read how she would bring forth. She had read: 'Behold a virgin shall conceive'; how she would conceive was first announced by the angel in the Gospel." [5]

This hypothesis, while in no wise derogatory to Mary's knowledge, raises to the sublimest heights her love of virginity —a characteristic which St. Luke everywhere stresses. Taken in that sense, Mary's question shows her willing to forego the unparalleled dignity of divine maternity, if it should prove incompatible with perpetual virginity, and it were not God's wish to insist on the sacrifice of the latter. In this attitude of mind, her principle would be that which St. Paul quotes as from Christ's lips: "It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive" (Acts 33:35). Divine maternity, indeed,

[5] Ambrose, *Expos. in Luc.*, I., iii.

having affinity with the hypostatic union, was absolutely a good of a higher order than virginity, a moral virtue. Yet, it was also a good which Mary would be receiving gratis from God. On the other hand, by her virginity, implying sacrifice and, in this case, sacrifice of the highest honor of which a human creature is capable, Mary would be offering to God her entire being. And, "it is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive," because the former implies greater love.

142. *Because I know not man* (34b). The difficulty arising in Mary's mind in the face of the honor of becoming Mother of the Saviour, could not have arisen from natural impossibility, it is clear; nor from any positive legal enactment, for she was already engaged to be married. Therefore, it could have its origin only in a vow of virginity. Only an unconditional vow could, under the circumstances, be considered a valid objection. For a vow partakes somewhat of the nature of a bilateral contract, and the person who has vowed is not free to perform acts of even greater virtue if such acts should infringe upon the matter of his vow, unless God declares otherwise. For justice goes before generosity. But the acceptation of the divine maternity had not been a command, but only an offer. Its terms may be translated: "Lo, thou art to conceive in thy womb and to bring forth a Son, and thou art to call His name Jesus" (Luke 1:31). Consequently, Mary makes clear her position to God's messenger, wishing to know in return whether God, in case He desired the natural accomplishment of His plan, would release her from the obligation she had previously solemnly contracted with Him, and which was incompatible with the natural carrying out of the present suggestion; or whether God in His omniscience and omnipotence had in mind the realization of the same end in some manner compatible with her vow. Hence Mary's question: "How shall this be brought about?"

143. *And the angel answering said to her: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee"* (35). God's gifts are without repentance. He who had inspired Mary to make her vow of virginity will now preserve that same virginity by a most

stupendous miracle, in order to keep inviolate the vow in naturally incompatible circumstances. Not even the slightest breath of carnal change shall make to tremble the rich white lily of Mary's purity. Only the cool shadow of God's awesome presence shall for an instant rest upon it, to make it fecund with the seed that shall germinate and grow up into the mighty tree of the world's life.

And this fecundation of the virgin, like all other exterior works of God, is the operation of the Three Persons of the Trinity; nevertheless, it is ascribed more particularly to the Third—the Holy Ghost, the Life-Giver. As it was this heavenly Dove that, brooding over the formless waters of primeval chaos, imparted order and life in the first great work of God, Creation, so this same vivifying Spirit shall descend upon the flesh of Mary, unstained by man, as was the earth in its beginning. As sinless Eve was formed from Adam without man's intervention, so the Second Adam shall be formed by God directly from the untainted body of her who was to be, in greater truth, "Mother of all the Living." And as the glory-flames bringing the Divine Presence came down at the dedication of the Temple of Solomon (II Par. 7:3) without hurt or harm to its structure, so the fire of the Holy Spirit shall fall upon the frail flesh of the virgin and consecrate it into a living Temple of the Almighty.

And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee (35). While primarily but a parallelic repetition of the preceding idea, that Mary's conception should be brought about by the Holy Ghost, the hidden metaphors and allusions of this clause accentuate yet more the ineffable manner of that conception. For the expression, "overshadow," brought to Mary's mind a vision of the Shekinah-cloud hovering over the Tabernacle, by which God's permanent presence was sensibly manifested to the Israelites in the desert (Exod. 19:9, 33:9). Perhaps Mary also recalled how the Incarnate Wisdom says of itself in Ecclesiasticus (24:6–7): "As a cloud I covered all the land: I dwelt in the highest places, and My throne is in a pillar of a cloud."

In Mary's sinless conception, there was to be no fatal,

reason-deranged heat of concupiscence and no earth-fire of carnal passion, but the Holy Ghost, whose synonym is "Power of God," was to pass over her as a cool cloud which, floating over a field, protects it from scorching summer heat and fructifies its soil with refreshing rain. As in future days the shadow of St. Peter worked miracles wherever it fell, so now the shadow of God's passing shall operate the Incarnation.

And therefore also the Holy One which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God (35). The words standing in the text for "The Holy One," may be translated adverbially, giving them a meaning more consonant with the previous context, which tended to emphasize the absolute purity of Mary's conception. Thus, the text would read: "And that which shall be begotten holily, shall be called 'Son of God.'" Once more the angel answers Mary's question as to how this conception might be brought about despite her vow of virginity. For the Child to be born of her is to have no earthly father, but He is to be, even in human language, Son of God alone.

144. *And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she also hath conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her that is called barren* (36). Zachary had asked for a sign to authorize his belief, and received the punishment sign of dumbness. Mary had not requested supernatural evidence to give present confirmation of the wondrous things she was asked to believe. She had but asked how their accomplishment would be reconciled with her vow of virginity. Now, to reward her faith, the angel offers her a sign which in itself was a joyful prognostication that his promises to her were true. For, if God had already made miraculously fruitful the sterile womb of Elizabeth, surely He would likewise make a virgin conceive without harm to her virginity.

Because no word shall be impossible with God (37). Hebrew usage does not finely distinguish between a thing and the oral sign thereof—the word. Thus, later the shepherds say to each other after the angel's message: "Let us go over to Bethlehem and *see* this *word* which has come to pass"

(Luke 2:15). The sense, then, of the present passage is: "Nothing is impossible with God." This is the summary of all the angel had said in answer to Mary's difficulty proposed. What God wishes to have done, He will also find a means of doing, employing, if necessary, a miracle.

145. *And Mary said: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word"* (38). The angel has spoken, and now God and the universe wait in suspense while Mary prepares to answer. In the words of St. Bernard: "O holy Virgin! all men of all times have their eyes fixed on thee. The price of our Redemption is offered; we shall soon be saved if thou wilt but give consent. With one word thou canst help us. And for that plead Adam and his descendants exiled with him from Paradise. All are prostrate at thy feet, because the consolation of those in misery, the freedom of the captive, the salvation of the whole world, depend upon thee." Terrible is the thought that the coming of the Saviour, the restitution of mankind, the Incarnation of God, should be conditioned upon the assent of a girl of Nazareth. Her "yes" was to mark the close of the saddest half of the world's history, the fulfilling of all prophecies, the crisis of all ages. But, as by the perverse free will of the first Eve humanity had been ruined, so only by the blest free consent of the second Eve was it to be restored.

The question arises: Was Mary's choice in the matter easy to make? Was it a case of mere acceptance of an ineffable favor, or were there personal and other reasons strongly urging to the contrary? On reflection, it would seem that Mary's choice was most difficult. For, in the first place, what was about to be accomplished in her was entirely supernatural. Mary had, it is true, the angel's solemn assurance that her conception should leave inviolate her virginity. But how would men know this, and how would they judge her? Above all, how would he whom she had formally promised to marry, Joseph, who knew of her vow of virginity, look upon her? Would he not be obliged by all reasonable evidence to consider and repudiate her as the vilest of her sex, when he

should find her, his affianced bride—for whose sake he too, in all probability, had bound himself to perpetual chastity[6]—to be with child? Even if Mary's humility had permitted her to reveal the sublime mysteries divinely worked in her, who would believe such a tale? What is dearest to every woman, her good name and honor, was about to be compromised. It was even possible that through mistaken zeal she should be seized as an adulteress to be stoned to death, according to the legislation of the Mosaic Code (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22), as happened in the case of Susanna, rescued by Daniel, and as was later to happen to the poor woman whom Christ saved from the hypocritical zeal of the Pharisees.

But, with this problem unsolved, yet other difficulties rose before Mary's mind, prospects of suffering and pain unparalleled. For she whose soul entered fully into the great phases of ancient prophecy, must thoroughly have realized that to become Mother of the Messias implied becoming Mother of the Man of Sorrows. She knew that the Saviour would come to His own and His own would receive Him not, for Jeremias had said of Him: "O Expected of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, why wilt Thou be as a stranger in the land, and as a wayfaring man turning aside to lodge?" (Jer. 14:8–9). Dimly, but all the more dreadful for their vagueness, had the life-sufferings of the Saviour, the Servant of Yahweh, been sketched by Isaias: "There is no beauty in Him nor comeliness; and we have seen Him and there was no sightliness that we should be desirous of Him. He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. And His appearance was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed Him not. . . . We accounted Him stricken and smitten of God, and afflicted. But He was wounded for our iniquities; He was bruised for

[6] Cardinal Lépicier, however, would favor the opinion that St. Joseph had already made a vow of virginity when he became engaged to Our Lady, differing on this point from St. Thomas, who has it (III, Q. xxviii, art. 4) that the Blessed Virgin "accepto sponso secundum quod mores illius temporis exigebant, simul cum eo votum virginitatis emisit." On this matter see Lépicier, *Tract. de S. Ioseph*, pp. 260–262 (Paris and Rome, 1908).

our sins. . . . He was led as a lamb to the slaughter'' (Is. 53, *passim*). In the person of the Psalmist, the Messias had said of Himself (Ps. 21:7): ''I am a worm and no man: the reproach of men and the outcast of the people. All they that saw Me laughed Me to scorn.'' Appalling, then, in its forebodings of sorrow, suffering, disgrace, gloom, did this vision of the Saviour's life-work rise like a threatening storm-cloud before Mary's spiritual vision. She realized that she, too, would have to participate in that life of suffering, that many and many a time ''weeping she would weep in the night, and her tears would be wet upon her cheeks'' (Lam. 1:2), and that, as Mother of the Man of Sorrows, she would also herself be the Mother of Sorrows.

But when her choice had been made, what was Mary's answer? Utter obedience, utter resignation: ''Behold the handmaid, the slave, of the Lord who rules all: be it done to me according to thy word.'' In the sentence by which she became Mother of the Saviour, Mary sounded the keynote of her life—unconditional and complete resignation to God, perfect conformity to the divine will. As the Son was later to say of Himself that He came into the world, not to do His own will, but the will of His Father, so the Mother calls herself the handmaid, the slave, of whom God may dispose as He pleases; as the Son at the time of His deepest abasement made an offering of Himself to His Father, saying: ''Not My will but Thine be done,'' so Mary now, having in view all the possible and certain painful consequences of her act, hands over her whole being to her Creator to be dealt with according to His good pleasure. As Eve's pride, unbelief and disobedience had been the beginning of sin and the cause of the curse, so now Mary's humility, faith and obedience became the source of blessing and salvation.

146. *And the angel departed from her* (38). His mission accomplished, Gabriel disappeared, as if out of reverence for the mystery which his announcement had just brought about. Mary had now become exalted vast distances above him in dignity. At the instant in which the Holy Spirit by His omnipotent power formed from the virginal blood of Mary

the body of Christ, and a most magnificent soul, newly created, was joined thereto, Mary became really related to the Trinity, for in that same instant the Second Person of that ever-blessed Trinity assumed as His own the body and soul thus produced and created, and Mary became Mother of God in an even truer sense than any other woman ever became mother of an earthly child. For Mary alone had given of her substance to the formation of that sacred body. The creature now encompassed the Creator.

Before this sublime paradox the angels' mighty intellects, which from the beginning of creation have been sounding the abysses of God's perfections and mysteries, fall back in dumbfounded awe. Their tireless, sweeping wings fold faint before they compass the expanse of this mystery. The Seraphim, that chant the triple "Holy!" veil their faces before God; the Cherubim, that bear the chariot of His power, dare not look upon His majesty. "Blessed," says St. Ephrem, "are they who from them learn to honor, to praise and to be silent in awe-filled astonishment before the mysteries of Divinity."

Art. 2: THE CANTICLE OF MARY (Luke 1:46–55) [1]

147. *And Mary said.*—During the time that elapsed between the Annunciation and the Visitation, so many rivers of joyful grace had been pouring their floods into Mary's soul that her whole being was an ocean of surging happiness pent up only by the deference due to divine mysteries.[2] But now Elizabeth's ecstatic revelation had broken down the barriers of her supernal secret, and the rushing torrents of

[1] Reprinted from *The Ecclesiastical Review* of February, 1921, by kind permission of its publishers.

[2] There was a little Maiden
In blue and silver drest;
She sang to God in Heaven
And God within her breast.
—Joyce Kilmer.

Mary's exultant appreciation rolled forth in the joyously pulsating measures of the great New Testament canticle, the *Magnificat*. She who from her very conception had been "full of grace," who even then bore within herself Him who together with the Father ever breathes forth the Holy Ghost, was in truth a tuneful harp of the Divinity, every fiber of her being a tense harp-string from which the rushing wind of the inspiring Spirit evoked melodies, now murmuring low in the consideration of her own unworthiness, now pleading and eager with the divine mystic love-longing of all ages, now clashing loud with the high metallic clang of battle cymbals as she chanted the pæan of God's victories.

But not only is the *Magnificat* the opening ode of the Messianic reign; it is also a veritable symphony of Old Testament chords, themes, movements which, sublimed in the white-hot incandescence of the Christian spirit, have been fused and molten into this masterpiece of Messianic music. Beyond the great Incarnation swell of its rhythmic surges, one still hears as faint overtones the gladsome accents of sterile Anna at the birth of Samuel, the echoes of Miriam's thunderous chorus beside the sea into which had sunk like lead old Egypt's horses and riders, the fine filigree phrasing of David's psalms, and the solemn pendulum-swing of the Prophet's exalted messages. It is from this outpouring of Mary's soul that one chiefly grasps how imbued she was with the spirit and words of the Old Testament writings. There is scarcely a phrase therein but has an Old Testament parallel or allusion. Here has Mary synthetized all that her attentive ears had heard and her pondering heart had meditated on during the youthful years of traditional Temple service and on pleasant Sabbath mornings in the synagogue of Nazareth.

Thus, the opening chords of the *Magnificat* are but transpositions of the same in the Canticle of Anna (I Kings 2:1):

> My heart rejoiceth in the Lord,
> My horn is exalted in my God:
> My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies,
> Because I rejoice in Thy salvation.

And further in historic distance is heard the clashing of Miriam's timbrels (Exod. 15:1–2):

> I will sing unto the Lord for He hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea.
> The Lord is my strength, and my praise,
> He is become salvation unto me.
> He is my God, and I will glorify Him;
> The God of my father, and I will exalt Him.

Recurrent themes of the Royal Psalmist, too, are echoed (Ps. 34:9; 102:1–2; 103:1):

> My soul shall rejoice in the Lord,
> And shall be delighted in His Saviour.
>
> Bless the Lord, O my soul,
> And let all that is within me bless His holy name;
> Bless the Lord, O my soul,
> And never forget all He hath done for thee.
>
> Bless the Lord, O my soul;
> O Lord, my God, Thou art exceeding great!

Hebrew and ancient as is the terminology and phrasing of this song, yet its whole spirit and breath and vision is fresh and broad and Christian. Gone is that plaintive minor note of patient, pleading, prayerful expectation, and in its place rings out clarion-clear the high full tone of realized possession. Not hopes or desires, but facts and their consequences, are the theme of the *Magnificat*.

Three main thought-groups may be distinguished in this inspired rhapsody glorifying God's dealings with men. In the first group (1:46–49), Mary considers the Divinity's exceptional dealings with herself; in the second group, her mental sight visions God's great principles of dealing with all mankind; and in the third group (1:54–55) she notes His peculiar dealings with the people of His predilection, the Hebrew nation, and the Church of which the former was but a type.

THE MAGNIFICAT.

46 My soul doth magnify the Lord
47 and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour!
48 Because He hath looked upon His handmaid's lowliness;
for lo! henceforth shall all peoples call me blest!
49 For He, the Mighty, hath done great things to me;
and holy is His name!
50 His mercy is unto generations and generations,
upon them that fear Him.
51 He shall show might with His arm;
He shall scatter the proud in the conceit of their heart.
52 He shall hurl the mighty from their thrones,
and shall exalt the lowly.
53 He shall fill the hungry with good things,
and the rich He shall send empty away.
54 He shall again receive Israel His Servant,
being mindful of His mercy
55 (As He promised to our fathers)
to Abraham and to his seed, forever.

148. *My soul doth magnify the Lord.*—This is Mary's reply to Elizabeth's "Blest art thou among women." True humility does not deny excellencies possessed, for it is but the appreciation of one's real condition. But true humility likewise refers all excellencies to God, the "Giver of all good gifts," reserving to itself only the recognition of its own intrinsic unworthiness. And, thus referring all excellencies to God, it necessarily appreciates the entire claim of the Divinity to all praise accruing therefrom. The greater the dignity of the person, the greater are the excellencies that have been bestowed, and the greater, consequently, is the praise due God who has bestowed them. Now, Mary had been endowed with graces and gifts beyond all other creatures; therefore, rightly does she exalt and praise God with a fervor more intense than that of any other purely human being: "My soul doth magnify the Lord!"

"My soul" here stands for the personal pronoun "I," as does also "my spirit" in the following member. It may likewise be taken as expressive of the intensity of Mary's feeling of gratitude, proceeding from her inmost being and from all

her faculties: "from all her strength; from her whole intellect, memory, will; from all the senses of her body; from her tongue, to speak of Him only; her hands to work for Him only; her feet, to lead and conduct to Him alone."

And my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour.—Mary had just named God her Lord (that is, the originator and owner of whatever excellence she possessed), and to Him she had referred it all. But she herself justly rejoiced in this same God-given good, using the very words of Habacuc's prayer: "I will rejoice in the Lord, and I will joy in God my Jesus" (Hab. 3:18).

If happiness, as is true, consists in the possession of a good, then Mary's bliss was indeed supreme! For, she possessed—and that in the closest, most intimate possible manner on earth—the Supreme Essential Good, God Himself. What tides of ecstatic rapture must have inundated her magnificent soul, as there floated from her pure lips the words: "I possess God, my Jesus!" For "Saviour" was the signification of her Child's name.

And by many a title could she claim the right expressed by "my Saviour, my Jesus." For, this divine child was *hers* first of all by the title of motherhood; she had conceived Him, and she was even then sustaining His physical life. He was *her* Saviour, because in the age-long pleading chorus of the voices of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and just ones of the Old Testament, hers had been the prayer that rose highest and most appealingly to the throne of God, and in answer thereto the heavens had rained down the Redeemer. Finally, He was *hers* most especially, because she had been redeemed by Him in a preventive redemption shared with no other creature, which had crowned her from the very beginning of her life with the glory of the Immaculate Conception.

149. *Because He hath looked upon His handmaid's lowliness.*—Taking her eyes from God, the Being infinitely great, exalted, and good, Mary sees in herself as a human creature only lowliness, unworthiness. The contrast overwhelms her, and brings out into clearer relief the condescension of God. It is in this appreciation of her own nothingness that Mary

again shows herself a first-fruit of Redemption. For, the whole course of the vicissitudes of Hebrew history had been directed towards making that people—as a model to others—recognize its own shortcomings, defects, sins, misery, and need of supernatural assistance. But only in isolated instances had this aim of Providence been achieved. The nation as a whole arrogantly vaunted its descent from Abraham as title sufficient to citizenship in the Kingdom of Heaven. The Jews never realized that meanness, vileness, even sinfulness, are no bars to God's activity, but, on the contrary, seem to attract the glance of divine benignity; and that, on the other hand, no barriers shut out from the soul the gentle rays of God's grace more effectively than the huge, vaporous, empty cloud-bulks of vanity and self-sufficiency.

150. *For lo! henceforth shall all peoples call me blest!* —Elizabeth had just now called Mary blest. But presently, since the mystery of the Incarnation has been for the first time externalized, not only Elizabeth—not only the Jews, by the mouth of the woman who cried out to Jesus: "Blest is the womb that bore Thee, and the paps that gave Thee suck!"—but all men shall have reason to praise the humble maiden of Nazareth for that which God had done for her and, through her, for them. Mary's vision does not restrict the sharing of salvation narrowly to the children of Abraham according to the flesh. Rather her comprehensive glance embraces the whole earth, and sees its countless successions of nations coming like waves of the sea and breaking in happy glorious worship at the foot of the throne on which she has been set by the dignity of her Son, whom she gave to be the Saviour of the whole world.

Nor may Mary's prevision of her glory give rise to doubts concerning her humility. In a similar manner some of the Saints of Christianity were later granted by God a foreknowledge of the honor they would receive even upon earth after their death. Thus, St. Philip Benizi, during his last days at Todi, was heard to murmur to himself: "I thank Thee, O Lord, that this is my resting place for ever and ever" (Ps. 131:14), foreseeing that, despite all efforts to remove it,

his body should always rest at Todi.[3] St. Felix of Cantalice, likewise, had revealed to him "the veneration which would be paid to him after death, and was shown various little details which would accompany the cultus, each one of which was verified."[4] Similarly, St. Thérèse de Lisieux, the "Little Flower of Jesus," promised a mystical rose-shower of favors to follow her death. Thus, Mary too, without violence to her humility, could express a prevision of her glory. For, true humility is but the appreciation of one's real status before God, implying not the denial of all excellence, but its reference to Him who gave it.

151. *For He, the Mighty, hath done great things to me.*—"The Mighty One" was one of the appellations for the Divinity current among Hebrews. "There is none strong like our God," Anna had exclaimed in her Canticle (I Kings 2:2), whose words are so often paralleled by Mary. And truly in Mary had God shown most eminently His power. For, as St. Augustine sums up: "It was a great thing that a virgin should conceive a child without the coöperation of man; it was a great thing that she should bear in her womb the Word of the Father, clothed in her flesh; it was a great thing that, whilst she acknowledged herself His slave, she became the Mother of her Maker."

And holy is His name.—The particle "and" here again has the force of "for," "because." The Lord has done "wonderful" things to Mary in preparation for her becoming Mother of the Word, "because He is holy."

Praising God by a litany of His attributes, Mary now considers His sanctity, as Anna too had sung: "There is none holy as the Lord is!" (I Kings 2:2), and as Isaias who had heard the seraphic triple thunder-chord: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of armies!" concluded: " 'Holy One' is His name."

This characteristic of God has indeed been manifested in the Old Testament, where the Divinity is spoken of as a refining fire that purges away all dross and base metal, and smelts out pure silver, the symbol of sanctity (Is. 1:25). But far

[3] Soulier, *Life*, p. 463.
[4] Kerr, *A Son of St. Francis*, p. 186.

more brilliant was the manifestation of divine sanctity in the Incarnation. The latter is the source of all earthly sanctification. The shadow-rites of the Ancient Dispensation had all their efficacy from the Incarnation foreseen. The marvelous sacramental system of the New Law, flowing from and centering around the Eucharist, receives its whole life and vivifying force from the God made man through Mary's mediation. Through God's sanctity came Mary's holiness, and through Mary's holiness comes each man's sanctification.

152. *His mercy is unto generations and generations, upon them that fear Him.*—Turning her prophetic vision from the operations of the Divinity in herself, Mary next views appreciatively the activity of God in the world at large, to make it conform to His sanctity. She observes that the keynote of this activity is "mercy," loving-kindness. Again she fairly paraphrases the Psalmist: "The Lord's mercy is from eternity to eternity, upon them that fear Him" (Ps. 102:17). From the unbeginning beginnings of His existence, God had poured out the rivers of His love upon His creatures; even when they fell, He had already decreed to save them by His greatest mercy, the Incarnation. And the fruits of the Incarnation continue to be brought forth during the ages subsequent to Christ, and will persist in glorious happiness down through the endless reaches of blissful eternity. Thus, truly is God's mercy "above all His works."

But the multifarious mercy of God, especially as manifested in the Incarnation, is communicable to those alone who coöperate therewith—who set no opposition to its activity, but, imitating Mary, acknowledge their truly needy condition before God, reverence and fear Him. For, as the Wise Man says, "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."

153. *He shall show might with His arm.*—Though the keynote of God's activity in the world is, as Mary had just expressed it, mercy and charity, yet a large portion of the world, not imitating Our Lady, has been, is and will be, because of the Fall, opposed to God and His endeavors to make it correspond to His sanctity and to its own proper end, His glory. Consequently, God's activity therein will largely take

the form of a judgment of, a battling against, or a destruction of principles and persons adverse to Himself or to His equivalent representative organizations, the Kingdom of Israel under the Old Dispensation, and the Kingdom of God, the Church, under the New. "For judgment," said Christ later, "am I come into the world, that they who see not, may see; and that they who see may become blind" (John 9:39); "This is the judgment: because the Light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than light, for their works were evil" (John 3:19). And this struggle between the spirit or principles of God and the spirit or principles of the world is as old as humanity itself, and persists therewith. "If the world hate you," said Christ later to His disciples, "know ye that it hath hated Me before you. If you were of the world, the world would love its own. But because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you" (John 15:18–19).

Although the original text has the past tense in the four distichs composing this section, it is not necessary to conclude that Mary's thought therein was occupied solely or even chiefly with the mighty wonders God had wrought in the past for His people, Israel. Her words are perhaps rather to be conceived as vividly prophetic of the future Providential battles for the Church. In Hebrew prophetic writings, the past tense is often used to express the intensity of the realization of the accomplishment of future events as seen in vision.

Mary may have wondered on her way to Elizabeth, as she beheld everywhere the legionaries of mighty Rome, how the latter part of the angel's announcement might be brought about (Luke 1:32):

> The Lord shall give unto Him the throne of David,
> His father,
> And He shall reign in the house of Jacob forever,
> And of His kingdom there shall be no end.

Then followed Elizabeth's inspired assurance: "Blest art thou that has believed, because those things shall be accom-

plished which were spoken to thee from the Lord." So now Mary is herself given a vision of God's power accomplishing His will against apparently insurmountable difficulties, and she in turn cries out prophetically: "He shall wreak might with His arm!" Perhaps she had in mind the judgment-theme of Isaias (51:9–10):

> Arise, arise, put on strength, O arm of the Lord!
> Arise as in the days of old, in the ancient generation!
> Hast Thou not struck the proud one,
> And wounded the dragon, old Egypt?
> Hast Thou not dried up the sea,
> The waters of the mighty deep?

But more probably it is not so much God's wondrous deeds of old that Mary is recounting; she is rather chanting the battlecry of the earth-long war foretold by the prophecy of Genesis (3:15): "I shall put enmities between thee [the devil and his world-spirit] and the woman, between thy seed and her seed." This struggle was now to enter upon its final crisis, whose end would be the victory of Mary and her seed —Christ her Son physically, and the children of God her children by divine adoption. "She shall crush thy head."

154. *He shall scatter the proud in the conceit of their heart.*—The verb here used for scatter means literally to disperse or blow about chaff in the wind. Now indeed was at hand the One of whom Elizabeth's son was later to say: "There shall come One mightier than I . . . whose fan is in His hand, and He will thoroughly cleanse His floor; the wheat He will gather into His barn, but the chaff He will burn with unquenchable fire" (Luke 3:16–17).

The proud ones of the earth are here placed categorically for all those opposed to God, according to the constant axiom of Scripture: "The beginning of all sin is pride" and "the beginning of the pride of man is to apostatize from God" (Ecclus. 10:14). Thus also, "before destruction the heart of man is exalted; and before he be glorified it is humbled" (Prov. 18:12).

In one sense this distich of the *Magnificat* might apply

particularly to the Pharisaic element then predominant in Jewry. Apparently, the Scribes and Pharisees were full ears of corn in the great harvest field of the Jewish nation. But the winnowing which would ensue upon Christ's three years of preaching, would show that their seemingly fruitful ears were not filled with the valuable grains of good works, but bore only the empty chaff of vain ostentation.

In the other, more universal sense, the signification would be that God would bring to naught the adverse schemes of the proud powerful ones of the world, according to the Psalmist's prophecy (Ps. 2:1, 2, 4):

> Why have the Gentiles raged
> and the peoples thought vain devisings?
> The kings of the earth stood up
> and the princes met together,
> Against the Lord and against His Anointed. . . .
>
> He that dwelleth in Heaven shall smile at them,
> and the Lord shall laugh them to scorn.

155. *He shall hurl the mighty from their thrones, and shall exalt the lowly.*—Here Mary seems to allude directly to a passage in one of the deuterocanonical books rejected by Protestants. For, the Son of Sirach says in Ecclesiasticus (10:17): "God hath overturned the thrones of proud princes, and hath seated the meek in their stead." The principle is enunciated that all power and even all human glory is from above; that no man should deceive himself into thinking they are due to his own merits. Woe then to the man who in vain self-deception, like the arrogant servant of Christ's parable, uses his talents and the power entrusted to him, not for the glory of his Master, God, but for the advancement of his own selfish ambitions, to acquire riches, pleasure, renown! And woe yet more to the nation which as a moral unit, in pride of power, dares to neglect or, worse still, outrage the plans and decrees of God's providence! Let such look at the mournful procession which passed before Mary's mind at the words quoted: the figures of a Pharao, of a Sennacherib, of a Nabuchodonosor, of a Holophernes, of an Antiochus: the

march of the world-ruling empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Macedon; the rise and fall of opulent Tyre, strong Samaria, self-complacent Jerusalem—each of them a mute witness to the truth of Isaias' words for all ages (26:5–6):

> He hath bowed down them that dwelt aloft;
> the high-towering fortress He hath laid low.
> He hath tumbled it down even to the ground;
> He hath hurled it even into the dust.
> He hath trodden it with His foot,
> with the feet of lowly ones, with the feet of the poor!

Yea, "with the feet of lowly ones, with the feet of the poor," "He shall exalt the lowly"! Gideon, of the least of the families of Manasses, became Israel's saviour with a little chosen band; Jepthé, hated and an outcast, became a prince among the Hebrews; David was so insignificant that even his own father had not thought of him. The tiny people of the Jews, far behind many of the heathen nations in world-culture, civilization, was chosen by God to become the recipient and custodian of His sublime revelations; out of it was to come the Saviour of the world. "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments and how unsearchable His ways!" exclaims the Apostle. "The foolish things of this world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world that He may confound the strong, and the base things of the world and the things that are contemptible hath God chosen, and the things that are not, that He might bring to naught the things that are—that no flesh should glory in His sight" (I Cor. 1:27–29), but that rather "he that glorieth may glory in the Lord" (Jer. 9:23).

156. *He shall fill the hungry with good things, whilst the rich He shall send away empty.*—The Virgin now varies her metaphor, and compares God's providential world-government to the dealings of a father of the house dividing his goods. Or perhaps, she is only following more closely her model, the Canticle of Anna (I Kings 2:5–8):

They that are filled, hire themselves out for bread,
whilst the hungry take their ease.

The Lord killeth, and bringeth to life;
hurls into the depths, and lifts on high.
The Lord maketh poor, and enricheth,
bends down, and raises up,
Exalts from the dust the mean
and lifts the needy from squalor,
To make him to sit with nobles,
to have room on the throne of honor.

Israel in Egypt was poor and hungering for freedom, and God fed it and gave it strength against its enemies, whilst the pride and wealth of Egypt and Canaan found not favor in His sight. Then the Gentiles were hungering after the truth of revelation, and it was taken from the boasting, self-righteous Jews to whom it had been first entrusted: they were left empty-handed, without altar, without priest, without sacrifice, and the true religion was given to the Gentile nations. Lastly, it is the poor, the needy, the humble, that receive most abundantly God's sacramental graces, which are true riches—whilst the haughty, the powerful, the wealthy, are left to gaze upon the iridescent but empty bubbles of earthly pleasures or the praise of men.

He shall again receive Israel His Servant, being mindful of His mercy.—Mary is an Israelitess, and her perfect soul glows with fervent patriotism for her own race. Therefore, is she now, in one sense, jubilant that the greatest mercy of God, the Incarnation, affects first of all her own people, the Jews. But she at the same time emphasizes that it is through gratuitous favor, and not through any merits of its own, that the Hebrew race has been chosen for this signal honor.

As He promised to our fathers.—This, as clearly shown in the original text, is a parenthetic clause, not in apposition with the following "to Abraham and to his seed." Therein Mary calls attention to God's fidelity in the fulfilment of promise and prophecy.

To the great ancestors of the Hebrew people Yahweh had again and again promised that from them would be descended

the Saviour of the human race. Thus, to Abraham it was said at various times: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 22:18). Almost identical in wording was the promise to Isaac in the great Ladder Vision: "Through thee and thy seed all tribes of the earth shall be blest" (Gen. 28:14; see also Gen. 26:4). A Psalmist proclaims: "The Lord hath sworn truth to David, and will not make it void: 'Of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne' " (Ps. 131:11).

157. (*Being mindful of His mercy*) *to Abraham and to his seed, forever.*—Mary's patriotism is not the narrow chauvinism of the Pharisees, which would restrict God's favor to the Jews alone, and leave for the Gentiles only judgment and condemnation. Against this scornful and bigoted view was later raised the warning voice of the Precursor: "Boast not, saying to yourselves: 'We have Abraham for our father.' For, I tell you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Matt. 3:9).

No, Mary read in those venerable prophecies their universal and truest meaning, namely, that all children and friends of God are spiritual children of Abraham and share in the glorious promises made to that Patriarch. St. Paul was at pains later to elucidate this interpretation, according to which alone is fulfilled in its fulness God's promise to Abraham: "I shall make thee a father of many nations" (Gen. 17:4); "I will bless thee, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of Heaven, and as the sand that is by the seashore: thy seed shall possess the gates of their enemies" (Gen. 20:17). Thus, in his Epistle to the Galatians, the Apostle of the Gentiles says: "It is written that Abraham had two sons: the one by a bondwoman, the other by a free woman. But he of the bond woman was born according to the flesh, but he of the free woman [Sara] was by promise. . . . Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are children of the promise." And "that Jerusalem which is above (in heaven) is free, which is our mother" (Gal. 4:22–31). "Know you therefore that they who are of faith, shall be blest with faithful Abraham. . . . That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through

Christ Jesus: that we may receive the promise of the Spirit by faith'' (Gal. 3:7, 9, 14; see also Rom. 4:9–24).

Thus, Mary, as she had previously visioned God's judgment activity and power in regard to those of the world who oppose Him, now sees and proclaims the immense extent of His mercy and goodness in regard to all who are members of His great spiritual family, the Church—New Testament children of Abraham. For now was about to take place the receiving back of the scattered spiritual descendants of Abraham, the founding of the new, universal reign of Israel, foretold by Isaias in the magnificent Rhapsody of the Kingdom Renewed (Is. 41:8 *ss.*):

Thou, O Israel, My servant, Jacob whom I have chosen,
the seed of Abraham, My friend;
Thou whom I have caught up from the ends of the earth,
whom I have called from the corners thereof. . . .
Fear not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I
am thy God.
I have chosen thee, therefore will I help thee; I
shall hold thee up with the hand of My Just One.
Behold all that fight against thee shall be confounded and
put to shame;
They that plan against thee shall perish and come to naught.
For I, the Lord thy God, will take thee by the hand
and say to thee: Fear not, I will help thee!
Be not afraid, thou worm of Jacob, ye men of Israel
that are dead!
I shall aid thee, saith the Lord, and thy Saviour is
the Holy One of Israel.

Behold, I shall make thee a new sharp-toothed threshing
wain,
Thou shalt thresh the mountains and beat them small,
thou shalt make the hills as chaff,
Thou shalt fan them and the wind shall carry them away,
and a whirlwind shall scatter them.
The needy and the poor seek waters and there are none;
their tongues are parched with thirst.
I, the Lord, will hear them; I, Israel's God, will not for-
sake them.
I will open rivers in the high hills, and fountains
amidst the low valleys;
I will turn the desert into a pool, and the dry land into
streams of water.

I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia,
the myrtle and the olive tree;
I will set in the desert the fir, the elm and the box
tree together;
That all may see and know and understand
That the hand of the Lord hath done this; that Israel's
Holy One hath created it.

Thus had Yahweh, by the mouth of Isaias, foretold and figuratively outlined the reconstruction of Israel into a universal kingdom of God, into which were to be gathered by preference the weak, the poor, the lowly, collected from the highways and hedges, from the obscure corners of the earth, yet all children of Abraham by the same faith which made that Patriarch receive the Promises. Through them God shall paradoxically triumph over the proud and powerful rulers of the world, and, whilst the latter shall be afflicted with spiritual poverty and want, the former shall be enriched with exceeding heavenly wealth and fertility; the Gentile world, formerly a spiritual desert, shall be flooded with rivers of graces, and the souls of the heathen shall flourish and grow up into beautiful trees of divers kinds in this new earthly paradise, and no one beholding it shall be able to deny that all this has been wrought by the wondrous mighty hand of the all-merciful God.

It is the beginning of the realization of this promise, then, that Mary celebrates in her canticle, the *Magnificat,* and it is this accomplishment at hand that she sums up in its closing jubilation: "He shall receive again Israel, His Servant, being faithful to the promises made of old, to extend His loving-kindness to all the spiritual descendants of Abraham, forever."

Art. 3: THE CANTICLE OF ZACHARY (Luke 1:67–79) [1]

158. *And Zachary prophesied, saying.*—The Canticle of Zachary, first sung in the Judean hills at the dawning of the Messianic era, has been consecrated as the matin hymn in the

[1] Reprinted from *The Ecclesiastical Review* of September, 1922, by kind permission of its publishers.

liturgy of the Church. Its six distichs, whilst not emphasizing the Person of the Messias, suggest the Incarnate Presence already upon earth. One realizes the background of Our Lady's Visitation, though more probably she was not there to hear. The chief thoughts and phrasing of the *Benedictus* largely parallel Mary's own *Magnificat*. The following transcription adheres in the main to Père Lagrange's arrangement of the text.

Blest be the Lord, the God of Israel,
because He is about to work the redemption of His people,
And hath raised unto us a horn of salvation
from out the House of David, His Servant——

(As He promised by the mouth of the holy ones,
His prophets that were of old;
To save us from our enemies,
from the hand of all that hate us,

To carry out His mercy shown our forbears,
being mindful of His sacred Covenant.
The oath which He had sworn
unto Abraham, our father)——

So that [now] being freed from fear
and delivered from the hand of our enemies,
We might serve in holiness and justice
dwelling in His presence all our days.
. . . . . .

And thou too, O little child,
Shalt be called a prophet of the Most High,
For thou shalt go before the face of the Lord
in order to prepare His paths

By giving notice of the Saviour to His people
unto remission of their sins
Through the mercy of God's own heart
wherewith the Dawn from on high shall visit us.

When, before the ritual of the circumcision of Zachary's and Elizabeth's child, the father's tongue was once more loosed, he gave thanks to God for that deliverance (Luke 1:64). And later, probably at the ceremony's close, Zachary, inspired by the Holy Spirit (as had been Elizabeth and Mary previously at the Visitation), burst forth into his own pro-

phetic canticle. But if Our Lady's *Magnificat*, as befitted a daughter of David, was royal in tone and sentiment and universal in its interpretation of the Messianic advent, Zachary's *Benedictus*, coming from the mouth of a true scion of the Aaronic priesthood, was eminently sacerdotal in character and looked upon the Saviour's coming more in the particular relation it was intended to bear towards the Jewish people. Of the six strophes of this canticle, four are taken up with Christ's advent as fulfilling the ancient prophecies; to this are added some outlines of the new Messianic Kingdom. The two remaining strophes refer specifically to the precursorial rôle foretold of the child at whose circumcision it was sung.

159. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; because He hath visited and wrought the redemption of His people* (Luke 1:68).—Praise and thanksgiving form the opening note of this canticle, as of Mary's; but God is here designated more particularly as Yahweh, the God of Israel. Past tenses here again are most probably used instead of present and future in order to indicate vividly the realization of what is being prophetically chanted. The Messianic age is at hand: it has already begun. Now is the inauguration of the new alliance of God with His people, of which He had said by the mouth of Jeremias (31:4–6, 10–11):

I will build thee up again, and thou shalt remain built,
O virgin daughter of Sion!
Thou shalt again be adorned with thy timbrels,
and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry.
Thou shalt once more plant vineyards in the
mountains of Samaria:
The planters shall plant and shall gather the
fruit in due season.
For there shall come a day on which the watchmen
on Mount Ephraim shall cry:
"Arise and let us go up to Sion, to the Lord
our God." . . .
He that scattereth Israel will gather him,
and He will guard him as the shepherd doth his flock.
For the Lord hath redeemed Jacob
and delivered him out of the hand of one that was
mightier than he.

If, in connection with this canticle, one assumes Mary's presence at the circumcision of the Baptist, Zachary's inspired utterances take on vastly added vividness.

160. *And He hath raised up a horn of salvation to us, in the house of David His servant* (69).—"Horn of salvation" is a Hebraism for "a powerful Saviour" or "a Kingdom of Salvation"—the Kingdom of Heaven. The allusion is to the great Messianic Psalm, *Memento, Domine, David* (Ps. 131:17):

> There I will bring forth a horn (king) to David.
> I have prepared a lamp for My Anointed.

The latter half of this distich refers to Christ's precursor, the second Elias whose "word," too, was to "burn like a torch" (Ecclus. 48:1), as he delivered his warning message to the decadent Jews of his time.

As He spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets, who are from the beginning (70).—Zachary refers to the fulfillment of all ancient prophecies in regard to the coming of the Messias. For, as St. Luke notes in the Acts (3:24), "all the prophets, from Samuel and afterwards, have spoken of these days."

Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us (71).—"Salvation" here stands, by a Hebraism, for "Saviour," to parallel the "horn of salvation," the saving King of verse 69. Israel was expecting freedom from Roman oppression: Zachary, in the Spirit, sees true liberty offered to his nation, and, if they will accept it, a glorious destiny among peoples of the earth. Or again, he may be speaking of the Kingdom of Heaven as already established, and refers to its overcoming its numerous spiritual and temporal foés.

161. *To perform mercy to our fathers; and to remember His holy testament. The oath which He swore to Abraham our father* (72–73).—God will now carry to completion the loving-kindness which He has shown to the forefathers of all His spiritual children; this mercy He offers again in fulfillment of His ancient promises, particularly of His covenant with Abraham: "I will bless thee, and I will multiply thy

seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is by the seashore: thy seed shall possess the gates of their enemies. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 22:17–18). Now God was about to perfect the ancient Covenant in a new Testament, as He had promised by the mouth of Jeremias: "Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the House of Israel, and with the House of Juda: not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt: the covenant which they made void. . . . But this shall be the covenant which I shall make with the House of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will give My law in their bowels, and I will write it in their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people" (Jer. 31:31–33). Zachary, then, by inspiration understood that these ancient Messianic prophecies comprehended in their scope, not only the descendants by blood of Abraham, but also all the world-scattered children of God.

That He would grant to us that, being delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve Him without fear (73–74). —Zachary outlines what results are to be expected from the Messianic advent: not political domination of the world at large, as was the false Jewish impression of his time, but liberty to serve God, not in Jerusalem's Temple, but "in spirit and in truth. . . . For, God is a spirit, and they that adore Him, must adore Him in spirit and in truth" (John 4:24). And indeed the New Testament, the universal expansion of the Old Covenant, is not to be a Covenant of fear, as was the Old, according to the words of St. Paul: "You have not received the spirit of bondage again in fear, but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons whereby we cry 'Abba' (Father)."

In holiness and in justice before Him (75).—"Holiness" may refer more particularly to a man's dealings with God; "justice" to his dealings with his fellows. Those who lived under the ancient dispensation, lived not so much in true holiness and justice as in a kind of foreshadowing of true

sanctity—in the "justices of the flesh," as St. Paul has it (Heb. 9:10). But in the Kingdom of God holiness is not only external—in the observance of forms of purification and rituals of cleanliness—but internal, genuine, of the heart. Under the New Law, as St. Paul again says, "we should live soberly and justly and godly in this world" (Tit. 2:12). The genuineness of the new Messianic holiness is emphasized by the phrase "before His face"—that is, not alone before men, but also before God "who searcheth the reins and the heart."

All our days (75).—Again Zachary contrasts the ancient with the new. God's favors in the latter—deliverance from enemies, true liberty, spiritual sonship—are not to be temporary gifts, nor are the holiness and righteousness of life to be for a time only, but all these characteristics of the Messianic Kingdom are to last for the duration of the world, and to achieve their perfect consummation in eternity.

162. *And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest* (76).—Zachary turns now from the consideration of the glories of the future Messianic Kingdom, in apostrophe to his new-born son, and prophetically outlines his particular function as forerunner of the Saviour. He echoes primarily the words of the angel Gabriel announcing the Baptist's birth: "He shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias" —as it had been long ago foretold in the prophets that a second Elias should immediately precede the coming of the Messias. Thus Malachy: "Behold, I will send you Elias the Converter, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come" (Mal. 4:5).

For thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways (76).—Again Zachary alludes to the prophets: to Isaias: "The voice [shall be heard] of one crying in the desert: 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make level in the wilderness the paths of our God'" (Is. 40:3); and to Malachy: "Behold, I send My messenger, and he shall prepare My way before My face. And presently the Lord whom ye desire, shall come to His Temple" (Mal. 3:1). The figure of preparing the way is taken from the ancient Oriental cus-

tom that, when a monarch visited his realms, a courier should go before him to warn the people that all unsightly objects on the way should be removed.

To give knowledge of salvation to His people unto the remission of their sins (77).—The preparation of the Messias' ways was to consist in informing men of the Saviour's coming, that they might have fit dispositions to receive Him, that the obstacles to His grace, sins, might be removed by sincere repentance; that the heart of the nation might, in docile receptivity and submission, be assimilated to the heart of its forbears, as the angel had foretold: "To change the heart of the children back to that of the fathers, to rouse again in the unbelieving the faith of the just ones of old" (Luke 1:17); to restore the spirit of the ancient tribes of Israel (Ecclus. 48:10), lest Christ's coming should "strike the land with anathema" (Mal. 4:6). For, the restoration of man was to consist primarily in the remission of his guilt, as Isaias said: "Remember these things, O Jacob, and Israel, for thou art My servant: I have blotted out thine iniquities as a cloud, and thy sins as a mist. Return to Me, for I have redeemed thee" (Is. 44:22).

Through the bowels of the mercy of our God (78).—The Hebrew phrasing here is paralleled in the Epistles. "If there be . . . any consolation in Christ, . . . if any bowels of commiseration, fulfill ye my joy," says St. Paul to the Philippians (2:1); and again to the Colossians: "Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, . . . the bowels of mercy" (3:12; see also I John 3:17). The meaning is: through the tender, condescending mercy of God, and not through any man's merits, shall this remission of sins be brought about, just as God said by the mouth of Isaias: "Can a woman forget her infant, so as not to have pity on the son of her womb? and, even if she should forget, yet I will not forget thee" (Is. 49:15).

163. *In which the Orient from on high hath visited us* (78).—In consequence of His ever-mindful mercy, God has now sent from on high, from Heaven, the Dayspring, to look upon, to visit His people, as He had promised in the prophecy

of Malachy: "Unto you that fear My name, the Sun of Justice shall arise" (Mal. 4:2). Sun, Dayspring, Dawn, and Orient are all prophetic designations of the Messias. Thus, in Zachary God says: "Behold, I will bring My Servant, the Dayspring" (3:8; see also 6:12). And Isaias shouts to Israel of the Messianic age: "Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!" (Is. 60:1). Thus, Christ is spoken of as "the true light" (John 1:8), and the Baptist was fittingly to be before Him "a burning and a shining lamp" in whose "light (the Jews) were willing for a time to rejoice" (John 5:35). But they would not follow his guidance when he gave "testimony of the true light, that all men might believe in Him" (John 1:7–8).

164. *To enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death* (79).—Again a Messianic text is alluded to, that of Isaias: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; to them that dwelt in the shadow of death, light is arisen" (Is. 9:2). If, as St. Gregory says, "to sit in the shadow of death, is not to have knowledge of divine love," then truly men of that time were dwellers in darkness —darkness of ignorance, darkness of pride, darkness of misery—in which they groped about, wandering in search of a ray of truth, of light of self-recognition, of brightness of consolation, crying out in the language of Isaias: "Why hast Thou allowed us to err, O Lord, from Thy ways? Why hast Thou suffered us to harden our hearts, that we should not fear Thee?" (Is. 63:17). "We looked for light, and behold darkness—for brightness, and we have walked in obscurity. We have felt for the wall, and like the blind we have groped as if we had no eyes. We have stumbled at noonday as in the night; we have been as dead men in dark sepulchers. . . . We have looked for truth, and there is none—for salvation, and it was far from us. For our iniquities before Thee are multiplied, and our sins have borne witness against us. . . . We have turned away so that we went not after our God, but spoke calumny and transgression: we have conceived and uttered from the heart words of falsehood. And judgment is

turned away backwards, and justice hath stood afar off. . . . And truth hath been forgotten'' (Is. 59:11–15). To the Jews of Zachary's generation could most appropriately be applied the words of Baruch: ''Thou art defiled with the dead; thou art counted with them that go down into the grave. Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom. . . . Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding, that thou mayest know also where is the light of eyes and life'' (Bar. 3:11–12, 14). But now was to appear Christ, the ''light shining in the darkness, the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world'' (John 1:5, 9).

To direct our feet in the way of peace (79).—Those who heard Christ appreciatively and took His doctrine to heart could then truly exclaim with the Psalmist: ''Thy word has been a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths'' (Ps. 118:105). In Hebrew idiom, the word ''peace'' denotes the possession of all things desirable. This possession is the consequence of right relations with God and one's fellows, as Isaias outlines: ''The result of righteousness shall be peace; and the service of justice, quiet and security forever. And my people shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tents of confidence, and in the rest of abundance'' (Is. 32:17–18).

Art. 4: THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

(Matt. 4:25—7:29)[1]

165. May be Compilation.—The question is not here raised whether the Sermon on the Mount is in fact a compilation by the hagiographer from divers discourses delivered by Christ at various times, nor whether it is to be identified in its occasion with the Sermon on the Plain Place (Luke 6:17–49). The varying answers that have been given to these questions do not affect the fact that the Sermon on the Mount as given in the Matthean account is a composition of deliberately planned unity directed to a specific purpose, and not a

[1] Reprinted from *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* of May, 1925.

mere heterogeneous conglomerate of *logia*. Whether the unity be traced to Christ Himself as delivering such a discourse, or to the inspired Evangelist as compiling by selection from various instructions of the Master, the ordered and fitted arrangement for the purpose in hand is unmistakable.

166. Primary Jewish Apologetical Aspect.—The Sermon on the Mount evidently intends to sketch the outline of a code of life-conduct for Christ's followers, the members of the Kingdom of Heaven. But it may be said to have primarily a special apologetical aspect for the Jews, as might be expected from Matthew's characteristic manner and purpose in writing his whole Gospel. This Jewish aspect consists in the fact that, in the Sermon on the Mount, Christ is shown forth as fulfilling the Messias' prophesied function of *Legislator of the New Law*. Moses had preëminently been the legislator for the Jews under the Ancient Dispensation. But already through Moses' mouth God had announced: "I will raise them up a prophet *like to thee*" (Deut. 18:18): that is, the New Dispensation which was to supersede the Mosaic Code, would be published and inaugurated by One who should parallel Moses in the legislative function. To demonstrate that Christ is indeed the foretold prophet-legislator paralleling Moses [2] in setting forth a code of life-conduct, is probably the local immediate Jewish object of this portion of Matthew's Gospel.

As the Mosaic Code had been a great advance over the heathen legislative systems which were its predecessors or contemporaries,[3] so the Messianic Code was to be a great advance over the previous Jewish system. To contrast the Mosaic with the Christian Code, and to show that the latter is indeed not the destruction but simply the sublimation of the former, is also an immediate object of the Matthean account.

[2] To be remarked is the Evangelist's note at the close of the Sermon on the Mount: "The people were struck with his teaching, for he was teaching them *as one having authority*, and not as the Scribes" (Matt. 7: 28–29; see also Mark 1: 22, and Luke 4: 32).

[3] Compare, for example, the Mosaic Code with the much earlier legislation of Hammurabi.

167. Mosaic and Christian Codes Compared.—As the Christian Code was to differ from the Mosaic in content, so also does its promulgation and the manner of its presentation differ from that of the earlier legislation. All these contrasts are subtly intimated in the stage-setting of the promulgation as well as in the language of the body of the Sermon on the Mount.

CONTRASTS IN PROMULGATION OF

Christian Code	Mosaic Code
Place	
Some easily sloping, low, verdure-clad hill in Galilee, having fields and towns and perhaps Lake Genesareth in sight.	Mount Sinai, high, steep, rocky, forbidding and awful, rearing up amid the drear Arabian desert.
Circumstances	
A fair late Spring day, with flowers blooming and birds flitting through the balmy air.—Christ descends from the higher knoll of Kurun Hattin to a level spot near the assembled crowds.	Fierce flashes of fire, lightnings, rumbling thunder, earthquake, smoke, overhanging dark cloud, the dread sound of a great battle trumpet.—Yahweh remains remote from the people, on the almost inaccessible top of the mountain. Moses is commanded to go up thither.
Legislator	
Christ the incarnate God-Man, all-merciful, with kindness and affability *Himself speaks directly* in charming human voice and in language intelligible to all men. If the Apostles are to be considered as mediators, they are common, unaristocratic, humble Galileans.	Yahweh as EL, the strong, strict, terrible, mighty, in the voice of a dreadful trumpet has but the Ten Commandments alone announced directly to the people. For the most part *He speaks indirectly* to the crowds, through Moses, the feared leader and almost despot of his nation, "horned" with terrifying glory, himself almost unapproachable.

Audience

A cosmopolitan crowd "from Galilee and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, Judea, and the Transjordania" (Matt. 4:25), "and the sea-coast both of Tyre and Sidon" (Luke 6:17), drawn by Christ's persuasive discourses and beneficent cures, coming gladly.	Present about Mount Sinai are only Jews, but recently freed from slavery, drawn from Egypt almost by force, already complaining and grumbling.
All persons approach and crowd about Christ, so that the Apostles form a bodyguard to protect Him from the throng. The people are "in admiration at His doctrine." See also St. Paul's noting of contrast in Heb. 12:18-28.	Dead-lines, cordons, are marked about Mount Sinai: the people are forbidden under pain of death to approach the mountain whence Yahweh speaks. "Being terrified . . . they stood afar off, saying: 'Let not the Lord speak to us, lest we die!'" (Exod. 20:18).
The Christian Code is "written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not on tables of stone, but in the fleshly tablets of the heart" (II Cor. 3:3).	The Mosaic code was summarized on tables of stone (Exod., 24:12; 31:18).

Execution

When Christ "was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed Him" (Matt., 8:1). And from that time on ever-increasing numbers of men have tried their best to follow, and have succeeded in carrying out the Christian Code in practical life.	The Israelites, even whilst Moses is receiving the details of his code, say: "Arise, make us gods that may go before us" (Exod. 32:1). "They have quickly strayed from thy way which thou hast shown them." And they "sat down to eat and drink, and they rose up to play." And in their subsequent history the Israelites fell again and again from the ideals of the Mosaic Code.
The Christian Code is applicable to all peoples, and has been in force universally ever since its promulgation.	The Mosaic Code in its entirety never bound non-Hebrews, and was eventually to be abrogated, and has actually ceased to be practicable even for Jews.

168. Contrasts in Content.—The greatest contrasts, of course, occur between the contents of the two Codes, Mosaic

and Christian. These need be indicated but briefly. The Mosaic Code is basically but the clear setting down of merely natural principles of life-conduct, and their confirmation by a divine sanction: this sanction, indeed, is mainly natural (note the chastisement curses of Deut. 28:15–68). The Mosaic Code aims to prescribe but little more than the absolutely *necessary* regulations for decent human life. It is designed to *enforce* an irreducible *minimum.*

On the contrary, the Christian Code embodied in the Sermon on the Mount aims to *induce* to the practice of a *maximum* of excellence in life-conduct. It assumes as a foregone conclusion the observance of the natural law, and it insists on the extension of its practice also to the finer developments and conclusions, such as monogamy, purity of thought, etc. But, far above and beyond the natural law as summarized in the *commandments* of the Decalogue, the Christian Code sets up as ideals to be striven for the paradoxical *counsels*—purely supernatural principles of life-conduct on a plane far superior to that of nature and the world.

Moreover, the Commandments of the Old Law were and are always and habitually obligatory, because necessary. The counsels of the New Dispensation, although strenuously recommended, are not obligatory habitually, except for those who by reason of either special position of leadership in the hierarchy of the Kingdom of Heaven (bishops) or of a contract or vow (religious), are in the state of perfection. Of course, all members of the Kingdom of Heaven are exhorted and advised to fulfill the counsels in act.

169. No Ceremonial Precepts.—Lastly, the bulk of the Old Law was made up of multitudinous exterior ritual observances and ceremonial precepts, not always in themselves of practical value, but thrown about the Commandments as a hedge or bulwark which would first have to be broken through before the Commandments themselves might be violated. These ancient ceremonial precepts, whilst having no real sanctifying efficacy, nevertheless symbolically suggested the higher, supernatural plane upon which Israel as the divinely Chosen People was to live. They intimated to the thoughtful

Jew a spiritual perfection which was never attained by those material-minded ones who could not see beneath the letter of the Law. Hence, the Pharisees, with all their zeal for strict literal observance, involved themselves in ridiculous absurdities, and were largely led away from the divinely appointed goal of true Judaism. For, as St. Paul, master of the Law, later declared: "It is not he is a Jew that is so outwardly; nor is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew that is one inwardly; and the circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God" (Rom. 2:28–29). Therefore also were the Pharisaic practices continually combated by Christ, for they placed the accidents above the substance: they insisted upon the symbol, whilst neglecting the reality for which it was given.

The Sermon on the Mount, in contrast to the Law, is absolutely devoid of ritual precepts,[4] but is filled with counsels touching practical conduct in the realities of life. The higher, supernatural perfection is no longer distantly or symbolically hinted at for the thoughtful and reflective: no, the principles of truly supernatural conduct are plainly stated, not by *minima,* but by heroic *maxima* which may rarely be realized in human practice. And by this hyperbolic manner of statement was obviated any tendency to merely exterior, ritualistic observance of Christian perfection. For, such counsels as "Turn the other cheek" (Matt. 5:39), "Pluck out the offending eye" (Matt. 5:29), "Hand over also the cloak" (Matt. 5:40), could never be mistaken by a reasonable person for necessary actual practices, whilst nevertheless the inherent sublime lessons of these hyperbolic and paradoxical *dicta* are plain to any common sensible mind.

Lastly, an important contrast between the Mosaic Code

[4] The absence of ceremonial precepts from the Sermon on the Mount cannot be urged against the ritual practice of the Church. For ceremonial regulations have no more place in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven than municipal market laws have in the Constitution of the United States, or rubrics of the Missal and Breviary in the Code of Canon Law. Each confines itself to its proper and distinctive field—the first, to essentials and the second to accessories and complementaries *ad convenientiam servandam.*

and that of the Sermon on the Mount is to be noted in the presupposed condition of those for whom respectively the two systems were given. Incidentally, one may remark here in the actual execution the verity of the venerable scholastic axiom: *Quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur.* St. Augustine says: "God had imposed the burdens of the Law *non iustitiæ servientibus sed peccato,* giving a righteous Law to unrighteous men, rather in order to make plain to them their sins, than to remit the latter."[5] The Law of Faith, on the other hand, was intended for just men, to make them even more just, in fact, perfectly conformed to the divine plan of the universe. "I am come," said Christ, "that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly" (John 10:10).

170. Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven.—As the Mosaic Code was the basic law of the Synagogue, identified with the Jewish nation or the Kingdom of David, so the Sermon on the Mount is best conceived as forming the Constitution of the Kingdom of God, which is the Church. The Mosaic Code primarily and principally was *negative,* pointing out what those under its regime *must not do,* lest they be found in disharmony with God's plan for the world. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven, on the other hand, presupposes in its followers this basic harmony, and is chiefly *positive,* showing the children of God how they *may best attain* ultimate and complete harmony with the divine universe-plan, and thus "be perfect" as their "heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5:48). That is why the Old Law, which "brought nothing to perfection," is marked by the Commandments; the New and "perfect Law of liberty" (James 1:25) by the Counsels. That is also why Christ, when asked by the young man: "What shall I do that I may have life everlasting?" replied, assuming that the query was concerning the absolute essentials of human conduct: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments." But, when the young man asserted that he had already fulfilled this minimum requirement and expressed a willingness to do "what was yet

[5] *Præf. in Epist. ad Galatas.*

wanting" to him, Jesus added: "One thing is yet wanting to thee: if thou wilt *be perfect,* go sell all thou hast and give it to the poor (upon which thou wilt have treasure in Heaven), and come, follow Me" (Matt. 19:16–22; Mark 10:17; Luke 18:18–23). To the keeping of the Commandments contained in the Mosaic Law is to be superadded for perfection the observance of the positive counsels contained in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Sermon on the Mount, considered as the Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven, may be divided into three major parts: (A) the Exordium (Matt. 5:3–16), stating the purpose and summarizing the principles of the New Law in the Beatitudes, and outlining the functions of its chief officers; (B) the Body of the Christian Code (Matt. 5:17—7:12), also applied to various exemplifying acts and circumstances; (C) Conclusion, warning against false systems and giving a test of discernment, closing with an exhortation for each man to build his House of Life after the plan outlined, thereby founding it upon a rock, permanent and indestructible.

171. The Beatitudes.—Happiness, blessedness, is the goal of every man's earthly striving, the end-object of all his life-conduct. Many and various are the means used to attain this goal. Under the Old Law, the Decalogue of Commandments had been content to *forbid* certain roads as being destructive of human happiness. In the New Law, the Beatitudes point out the best roads to be followed, roads moreover often passed by or avoided because they are mistakenly conceived by men, on superficial view, to lead to unhappiness. For, as the Body of the Constitution closes, "broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat," but, "strait is the way that leadeth to Life, and few there are who find it" (Matt. 7:13–14).

The Decalogue principles are given mostly in imperative and negative form: "Thou shalt not. . . ." The basic principles of the Kingdom of Heaven are given in positive and allicient, persuasive and attractive form: "Blessed are the meek. . . . Blessed are they that mourn. . . ." And the Beatitudes are indeed paradoxical, for they promise happi-

ness as the result of courses of thought and action which the world constantly associates with at least lack of enjoyment, if not even positive suffering. But, on the other hand, the Beatitudes are most practical, because in suffering and denial this earth abounds, and these are now shown to be indeed means ready at hand for every man to attain true happiness. From the dull ores of life's commonplace facts man is shown how to extract by the fires of suffering and self-denial the pure gold of genuine happiness.

After the Beatitudes come special directions for those who are to be officers and leaders in the Kingdom of Heaven, comparable to the priests and prophets of the Old Law (Matt. 5:11–16). "You are the salt of the earth . . . the light of the world." They first and foremost must be thoroughly imbued with and practise its supernatural principles, for to them shall all the rest look for guidance.

172. Sublimation of the Old Law.—Next the divine Legislator prefaces the body of His Code by showing that it implies not a destruction, but indeed a sublimation of the Ancient Law given formerly to the world in its infancy (Matt. 5:17–47): "Do not think that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." Christ instances six particular cases of the Mosaic Code wherein His own is seen to carry out the earlier principles to ultimate perfection. These cases are marked by the recurrence of the contrasting phraseology: "You have heard that it was said to them of old. . . . But *I* say to you. . . ." Thus, (1) the ancient prohibition of murder is sublimated to include any offense, even trivial, against one's neighbor; (2) the ancient prohibition of adultery is made to cover even lustful thoughts and desires; (3) the permission of polygamous marriage is abolished, and the original absolute monogamy restored in its place; (4) the prohibition of perjury is extended to cover all useless swearing; (5) the *lex talionis* (law of retaliation) is sublimated into the return of good for evil, and (6) this is not to be restricted in application to those alone who are members of the Kingdom, "your brethren," but is to be extended to all men.

173. Body of the Christian Code.—With Matt. 5:48: "Be ye therefore perfect, as also your Heavenly Father is perfect," begins the Christian Code proper. The section Matt. 6:1–18, outlines the elevated ideals which are to guide the members of God's Kingdom—the Christian commonwealth—in their *external good acts.* Sincerity and genuineness, not outward appearance and ostentation, are to mark Christ's followers, in contrast with the hypocritical apparent righteousness of those "whited sepulchers," the Pharisees, then dominant in Israel. This genuineness of virtue is insisted upon particularly for acts of almsgiving, prayer, forgiving of offenses, and fasting (Matt. 6:2–18).

The next section (Matt. 6:19–34) outlines the attitude prescribed to be maintained by the members of the Christian supernatural commonwealth towards *temporal goods,* including their own body and its health. Christ's followers are, first of all, not to make the acquisition of wealth the final object of their life; they are rather to seek to amass imperishable treasures (Matt. 6:19–21). They are in all things to observe the proper order in the relative evaluation of temporal goods from the standpoint of the supernatural. To harmonize themselves with the latter, is to be their constant striving. Hence, if their spiritual keenness of vision, of appreciation of true values, is allowed to be dulled by passion, which puts an earthly good or pleasure before a heavenly one, their whole lives will become "darksome," out of harmony with realities and God's plan (Matt. 6:22–23). But, if the Christian's constant effort is to live according to God's design and will, then even apparent mishaps and falls will develop into greater goods. For, "all things work out unto good to those who profess to be saints" (Rom. 8:28).

174. Difficulties Disposed of.—Against this demand for exclusive devotion of man's faculties and acts to the supernatural life, the suggestion might be brought: Could not one compromise between the ideals of the supernatural order and the attractions of the natural, not offending against the former, yet enjoying also the latter? The feasibleness of this compromise system is strikingly negatived by the parable that

no slave can give his services satisfactorily to two masters at the same time (Matt. 6:24). Again, an objector might raise the difficulty: But, a man *has* to entangle himself with the goods of this world: at least, he must provide food and clothing for himself and those dependent on him. Christ answers this specious argument by pointing out that, in the final analysis, even food and clothing, life and health, are dependent upon another factor, and therefore not invariably and surely derivable from man's efforts in the material order. The factor which worldings call chance or environment or luck, but which Christ's followers recognize as divine providence, after all is the ultimate determinant in these matters. So, if one *has eventually* to trust Providence always, why not trust God entirely (Matt. 6:25–34)? A man will not err, consequently, in directing all his activities according to supernatural principles. For, in return, God will see that he is not hampered by lack of the necessary natural goods: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice and all these other things shall be added unto you."

In regard to the Christian's attitude towards his fellows, besides the improvements noted previously in the sublimation of the Mosaic Code, Christ adds supplementarily the supreme ideal of charitable judgment of one's neighbor, insisting also upon self-correction before one attempts to amend the conduct of others (Matt. 7:1–5). However, this consideration of one's neighbor is not to be carried to sentimental excess. While Christians are to give non-Christians the benefit of all good-will, nevertheless it would be imprudent to force upon the latter the treasures of Christianity, which they in their ignorance or prejudice have not as yet learned to appreciate. Pearls are not to be cast before swine (Matt. 6:6).

Finally, Christ's followers are assured that their petitions will always be answered by their Heavenly Father; that, if what has been outlined in this new Christian Code seems difficult of realization, they have in prayer a practically omnipotent source of power by which all that is counseled may infallibly be brought about (Matt. 7:7–11). The Golden Rule closes the body of the Christian Code, summing up the proper

relationship in practice of Christ's followers towards their fellows.

175. False Teachers: The House of Life.—The summary of the Law of Perfection has been given. Is it difficult? Yes. Christ does not deny this. But He calls attention to the respective results of its observance or neglect. The easy way in the end produces pain, but the difficult way and the narrow gate lead unto everlasting Life (Matt. 7:13–14).

But numerous other men besides Christ have and shall set themselves up as teachers and leaders of mankind, and promulgate systems for the attaining of happiness and perfection. How shall it be known which of all systems and teachers is true? Christ gives a test which is as simple as it is infallible. "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matt. 7:15–23). Its eventual practical developments and results are the unmistakable test of any religious system, as of any earthly plan or theory whatever. The leafage and blossoming of a tree may appear fair: so also may a false system give fair promise at its beginnings and for many years. But time will tell. When the season comes for gathering the ultimate conclusions of its principles, it will quickly be proved either barren or bad, and presently it will wither away (Matt. 21:17–19; Mark 11:12–14).

The Sermon on the Mount concludes with Christ's exhortation to every man to use it as the plan and foundation upon which to build his House of Life (Matt. 7:24–27). It may be easier to sprawl a low edifice of personal life-conduct over the smooth but shifting sands of worldly, material principles, but it is far safer and nobler to make it to tower heavenward upon the difficult but aspiring and immovable crags of the supernatural. To be real, happiness, the goal of man's life and the first-named object of the Sermon on the Mount, must be permanent, lasting even unto eternity. To show man how to attain this happiness in the best and most perfect manner, is the purpose of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Heaven.

176. Literary Form.—Towards its conclusion especially, the language of the Sermon on the Mount turns to veritable rhythmic prose, combining extreme simplicity of expression

with marvelously intricate counterbalancing of thoughts in a New Testament development of characteristic Semitic parallelism. The latter is exhibited to the eye in the following reproductions:

Enter ye in at the Narrow Gate
For, wide is the gate
and broad is the way
that leadeth to destruction,
and many there are who go in thereat.
How narrow is the gate
and strait is the way
that leadeth unto life,
and few there are that find it!

By their fruits ye shall know them
Do men gather
grapes of thorns,
or figs of thistles?
Even so
every good tree bringeth forth good fruit,
and the evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit;

A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;
neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit.

Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit
shall be cut down and cast into the fire.

Wherefore
By their fruits ye shall know them.

Art. 5: THE PARABLES OF THE GOSPEL

(Matt. 13:10–16)

177. Frequency of Their Use:—Upon opening the pages of the New Testament and reading over the discourses of Christ, one has the impression of having inadvertently unlocked a cabinet of jewelry, hammered, wrought, graven and inlaid by a master hand. And the precious stones whose colorful sheen or brilliant flash enhance the incomparable handiwork, are the parables with which the discourses of Christ are so lavishly adorned. For, as it had been foretold of the Messias that He would "open His mouth in parables"

(Ps. 77:2; see Matt. 13:35), so the Gospel records show that Our Lord "taught them many things in parables" (Mark 4:2). . . . "and without parables He did not speak" to the majority of His auditors (Matt. 13:34). Thus, the outstanding literary characteristic of Christ's popular discourses is the frequent employment of parables to illustrate His teachings, much as an author relieves with sketches or etchings the letter-press of a volume.

178. Reasons for Parabolic Teaching.—Why did the Son of God, come on earth to teach men the way of truth, choose the parabolic method for imparting His doctrine? The disciples themselves proposed that question to Christ: "Why speakest Thou to them in parables?" And the Messias in reply but pointed to the fulfillment of the curse of Isaias upon the obstinacy of the Jews: "I speak to them in parables, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. . . . 'For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut, lest at any time they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart, and be converted and I should heal them'" (Matt. 13:13–15, and Is. 6:9). God does not force citizenship in the Messianic Kingdom upon anyone. He who would become a member thereof must show willingness to coöperate with Christ and to comply with the necessary conditions. But the purblind stubborn pride of the Jews of Christ's day refused absolutely to learn of Him who was "meek and lowly hearted," but demanded rather that God should make the ineffable ways of His works conform to their ideas of what should be done and how, and insisted that Christ should in His Messianic function play the rôle of a materially dominating Hebrew world-conqueror, which their foolish narrow prejudices had assigned to Him. Therefore, hearing Christ's words, they refused nevertheless to receive His broad principles, and, seeing His blameless life and astounding miracles, they still refused to recognize in Him their divinely sent Saviour, and when "He came unto His own" chosen people, "His own received Him not" (John 1:11).

179. Parables Used by Israel's Teachers.—But other, more universal reasons may be conjectured as motivating Our Lord's choice of the parabolic form of imparting so much of His doctrine. The Messias was to close the long line of divinely sent teachers of the Hebrew nation. Consequently, He was to surpass in their own methods the contemporary leaders of Israel's thought—the Scribes and Pharisees, who were then "sitting on the chair of Moses." Now, their favorite means of teaching was the parabolic. Adopting, therefore, the very weapons of His adversaries, Christ discomfited them time and again in argument, and replaced their false assumptions in the minds of the common people who were "of good will" by means of parables that far surpassed in perfection of technique the best that Scribal ingenuity could devise.

So characteristically Christ's was the parabolic method, and so unattainable the perfection of His use of the same, that it was never followed or adopted even by the Apostles. As a literary vehicle, the parable reaches its zenith in the discourses of Christ, and since then has scarcely been imitated, much less rivalled.

180. Fittingness of Parabolic Teaching.—The imparting of doctrine by means of parables, moreover, was a mode in itself well accommodated to the thought-processes of Christ's hearers. For fables, stories, riddles delight the Oriental mind. With time no object in the unhurried East, a son of Sem loves gradually to crack the rhetorical shell of some thought-nut in order to get the whole sweet kernel of the hidden abstract idea. The very language of the Jews was much better adapted to the presentation of doctrine in concrete exemplification than in abstract reasoning. Therefore, Christ subdued the dazzling brightness of the sun of truth to meet the capacity of feeble human eyes by passing its rays through the divers, beautifully tinted glasses of His parables.

Lastly, the Saviour's audiences were continually changing, and His teaching was entirely oral. It was not as yet laid up in the treasuries of the New Testament writings. Consequently, Christ carved His doctrine ineffacably upon the memory tablets of His hearers by presenting it in parables

so charming, so striking, yet withal so simple, almost naïve. Who, having once heard it from Christ's lips, could ever forget, for example, the parable of the Sower, of the Cockle and the Wheat, of the Pharisee and the Publican? And who would not delight in searching for the deeply hidden significance of such tiny but exquisite diamond splinters of parables as the one of the Seed that Groweth, of the Hidden Treasure, of the Net?

181. Various Applications of Parables.—The underlying meaning of the parables may be classed as threefold. Christ refers, first, to the actual relations existing at the time between Himself, as the Messias, and the Jews: this is the primary and *local* significance. Or He refers, secondly, to the beginning, growth and activity of His work, the "Kingdom of God," the Church, throughout the future ages of its history; this may be called the *universal* significance. Or, thirdly, Christ may refer to the reception and influence of His doctrine in the soul of the individual: this is the *personal* phase. Sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes all three of the above meanings may be found in a given parable. Generally, however, one alone is featured, the others subordinated.

For classification, the universal meaning is the one best followed. Then the whole collection of parables falls easily into three groups: those treating of the origin, nature, and activity-phases of the Kingdom of Heaven, as the Mustard Seed, the Pearl, the Marriage Feast, the Leaven, the Workmen in the Vineyard; those treating more particularly of the members of that Kingdom, their relation to the Head and their life-duties, as the Unfruitful Tree, the Foolish Rich Man, Dives and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan; those treating of the bearing of the Head of God's Kingdom towards its members, as the Good Shepherd, the Lost Groat, the Prodigal Son.

182. Interpreting the Parables.—The model and guide for any study of the parables must always be the interpretation Our Lord Himself deigned to give of His parables of the Sower and of the Wheat and the Cockle. From these, it is seen that one must in each case seize upon a dominant chord

and subordinate accessory themes thereto. In doing this, however, one must not attempt to force all trifling details into having parabolic significance. For, often they are but rhetorical, literary ornaments, needful to the perfection of the allegory, but not necessary to the essential parabolic meaning. Still, broad and deep vision, illuminated by the special grace of the Holy Spirit, will discover in even apparently irrelevant minutiæ depths of that Wisdom which, playing in the world, disposes all things sweetly in order and measure, ordaining all happenings of the universe, so that not even "a sparrow falleth from the housetop" except as fitting into the design of the All-Father.

183. Beauty in Simplicity.—The simpler and cruder is the material from which an artist constructs a masterpiece, the greater must be the skill of the maker. Christ used for His parables the commonest things, incidents, and persons of everyday life. The sprouting grain, the net of the fisher, the weed in the fields, the lost coin, the dishonest manager, the unjust judge, the wandering sheep, the seed time and the harvest, Pharisees and publicans, rich men and beggars, all taken fresh from His hearers' surroundings, knowledge and memory, are sublimed in the crucible of Christ's divine mind, and are put forth as exquisite, delicately traced miniatures whose parts, and withal absolute clearness and finish, charm the simplest and the most erudite minds, and at the same time are made the vehicle of conveying to these the highest and most magnificent verities of the supernatural order. As unsurpassed masterpieces, then, of literary art, they too witness to the divinity of their Author. No wonder, then, that their representations were crudely painted on the walls of the catacombs and brilliantly burnt into glowing rose-windows of the thirteenth-century cathedrals; no wonder their preaching has turned sinners from the paths of perdition and shown saints the way to the highest thrones of Heaven, for they are the epitome of that heavenly science brought on earth by Incarnate Wisdom in which is "the spirit of understanding, holy, one, manifold, subtile, eloquent, active, undefiled, sure, sweet, loving that which is good, gentle, kind, steadfast, as-

sured, secure, having all power, overseeing all things and containing all spirits" (Wis. 7:22).

Art. 6: PARABLE OF THE SOWER (Matt. 13:1–8, 18–23)

184. The Lake Sermon.—On a certain day Christ had gone out from Capharnaum and was seated, perhaps to rest Himself in more intimate discourse with His disciples, beside the blue waters of the Lake of Genesareth. But eager groups of other auditors again pressed about Him, and their number increased until, to accommodate the multitude, He arose and entered into a boat, and drew out from the shore. Seated in Peter's ship, rocked gently by the sapphire waters of the Sea of Galilee, He taught the crowds of earnest listeners that stood upon the rising shores of the little bight. Perhaps the local scenes and actions gave Our Saviour the suggestions for the group of parables He was about to speak. On the nearby hill-slope a husbandman is scattering broadcast golden grain upon the fields; the birds of the air are unconsciously winging their way above their Creator's head, bringing food to their fledglings in the gigantic Oriental yellow-green mustard bush; on the highroad a merchant's caravan winds its dusty way to Capharnaum, and the merchant himself, seated on an Arabian steed, is perhaps dreaming in hopeful desire of finding in this new market the pearl of great price that shall please his mistress of Theman; farther on, half-naked fishermen are drawing the night's catch to shore, sorting the good fish into their vessels and casting the others on the sands to perish.

Amid these surroundings, Our Lord pronounces that magnificent series of parables, illustrative of the beginning, growth and nature of His future Church, of which so many of His hearers were to be members.

The first of this series, that of the Sower, as well as that of the Wheat and the Cockle, Christ deigned to explain at the request of His disciples, thus giving guidance for future interpretations of other parables also.

185. Parable of the Sower.—In the primary, local sense, the parable of the Sower refers to the dissemination of the

Kingdom of Heaven among the Jews of Christ's time. Christ Himself is the sower. The seed which He scatters broadcast is the whole collection of supernatural truths which He came upon earth to teach men. The field is the nation of the Jews, God's chosen people already prepared for long centuries previous, enriched by the preaching of the prophets and furrowed by the sharp plowshares of wars, sufferings, persecutions. To all the various classes of individuals, Christ, wandering the highways and byways of Palestine, communicates equally the blessed verities of revelation and the sublime moral code embodied in the Sermon on the Mount. But the result depends so much on the reception accorded Christ's doctrine by His hearers and their coöperation.

The Saviour forces no man to be His follower. Neither may the Jews claim membership in His Messianic Kingdom "by the will of the flesh" (John 1:13), simply through their carnal descent from Abraham. No, they must "hear the word, receive it in willing heart, and bear fruit in patience."

The various classes of His hearers Christ has clearly described in His own exposition. The first is that of those who are indifferent, who out of mere curiosity or idleness listen to the Messias' preaching, and then walk away, having indeed received the word into their ears, but, unlike Mary, not pondering it in their heart. Very soon the devil sends his emissaries, the flighty, winged, wandering, greedy, earthly thoughts, troubles and cares, and these soon snatch even the memory of Christ's doctrine from these men's souls. And thus the divine seed has not even a chance to germinate.

To the second class, symbolized by the seed falling upon a thin layer of earth above dense, sterile stone, belonged those who received the new Prophet's doctrine with eagerness, and in their fresh fervor endeavored indeed to practise it. In the heat of their enthusiasm, the young plant of a new life quickly germinated and shot up. But, when the searing rays of the Pharisees' sneers and scoffing rose into the scorching noonday of Christ's rejection, Passion and Death, the tender shoots of their enthusiasm for the Messias drooped and withered away, and they walked no more according to His word.

A third class is numerous among Christ's auditors: those who hear His preaching with interest and sincerity, realize its import and apply its lessons to their own lives. But, like the young man in St. Mark's Gospel (10:21) whom Jesus had looked upon and loved, these men wish to compromise between serving the Lord and serving the world—between God and Mammon. The result is that the desire for wealth and the cares attendant upon this desire soon grow up so rapidly that, like weeds of the field and thorns, they crowd out and choke the good practices begun in them by Christ's preaching, and they, too, become fruitless.

Lastly, Christ compares to seed falling upon good ground His doctrine received by those well-disposed hearers, who pondered and meditated on His teaching, absorbed its principles into their character, and thus in due season brought forth fruits of merit, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundred-fold. Here, even in those who are ideal members of His Kingdom of Heaven, Christ stresses the necessity of each man's coöperation with the great graces of salvation.

This, then, was the significance of the parable of the Sower for Christ's immediate audience of the Lake Sermon in the little bight of the Sea of Galilee. The broader and universal significance, however, of the same parable, is but an expansion of the above, applying it to the whole world and all time.

186. Universal Significance.—The Sower then, instead of picturing Christ personally, will represent also all those who are legitimately delegated by Him to exercise His functions —the officials of His Kingdom, the bishops and priests of His Church. The seed is, in its theoretical aspect, the body of Christian doctrine, and, on the practical side, the sacraments and other means of grace communicated to men through Christ's accredited ministers. The reception and vicissitudes of this divine seed throughout the ages by the universality of mankind is but an expansion of its reception and vicissitudes among the Jews of Christ's time. At the very outset a large number are deprived of the benefits of the Christian dogmatic and sacramental system by their lack of interested coöpera-

tion, through their indifference and carelessness, allowing Satan to snatch the very beginnings of virtue from their hearts.

Others, again, are enthusiastic enough in their beginnings: they admire the ideals of Christianity, and strive to carry them out in practice. But, although the divine seed has germinated and has even put forth green shoots of good works, still its roots have not yet descended deep into the self-knowledge of humility; pride is the hard rock that resisted their penetration. When, therefore, the hot sun of difficulties, temptations, or persecutions rises in the scorching noonday of practical life, the young green shoots of enthusiasm droop and wither away, and another handful of precious heavenly grain produces no fruit in the field of the Kingdom of God.

The third class, in whom also the seed fails of fruit, are exactly the same in all ages as at Christ's time—namely, the compromisers who would endeavor to serve both God and Mammon. In them, material and temporal interests, the cares and worries of this world, and the deceiving glamor of wealth quickly choke the delicate shoots of the supernatural life by their coarse, rank growth. Wherefore, Christ was well warranted in saying later in His life: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of Heaven! For it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven!"

Thus it is that citizenship in the Church is held mostly by poor, but serious, earnest, sincere men and women, who strive to carry out in their lives with the supernatural assistance of the sacraments the great principles of Our Lord's teaching. These form indeed a vast field covering the whole world with sturdy stalks and ripening to golden maturity beneath the hot sun of persecution and difficulty, till their ears, heavy with grains of merit, are ready for reaping by the angel Death.

Expositors have remarked that the various degrees of fruitfulness of the divine seed typify the divers stages of perfection in the supernatural life attained by men. Thus, the thirty-fold fruit would be that of ordinary Christians in the

world; sixty-fold would signify that of religious and others bound to live in the state of perfection; and hundred-fold would be the fruit produced by those exceptional souls, the Saints, who actually attain perfection.

187. Number of Saved.—Finally, from the fact that Christ in His parable enumerates in detail three classes of men in whom the divine bounty is frustrated, and only one in whom the designs of Providence are fulfilled, one need not necessarily conclude to the eternal loss of the greater number of the souls of men. For, in expounding a parable, one must run true to its symbolism. The Sower, here primarily representing Christ Himself, certainly would not be conceived as going forth and senselessly scattering the greater part of the seed upon trodden paths, stony soil, or among thorns. But rather, men usually think of the husbandman as sowing upon prepared ground, with here and there casually scattered grains falling upon thankless earth. Hence, one may rightly conclude that the divine seed of the word of God and of His sacraments falls for the most part upon souls that receive it appreciatively and coöperate to its growth.

Art. 7: THE INCIDENT OF SALOMÉ AND HER SONS[1]

(Matt. 20:20–23; Mark 10:35–40)

188. Differences of Matthew and Mark.—Matthew's version of this incident is that of an eyewitness. This Evangelist, writing for the Palestinian Jews, brings in Salomé, known by his countrymen to be a near relative of Christ. He does not mention the names of the two disciples, Salomé's children, as they were familiar to the Jews as the "Sons of Zebedee." He repeats the very words of the conversation between Christ, Salomé and her children employing the apocalyptic "Thy kingdom," instead of Mark's more Hellenistic "Thy glory."

Mark, according to his custom, relates summarily the account he had heard, probably from St. Peter. As Salomé

[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers, the Paulist Fathers, from *The Catholic World* of September, 1922.

had no special interest for his Roman readers, and perhaps also to avoid drawing attention to the human relationships of the Incarnate Word, Mark does not mention Salomé: her words are laid in the mouth of her sons, from whose ambition they had originated. This may be concluded from the plural of Matthew 20:22: "*Nescitis quid petatis.*" Mark, moreover, supplies the opening sentence of Salomé's petition, indicated by Matthew's "asking something of Him." Though, in plural form, its characteristically feminine whimsicality is unmistakable: "Rabbi, I want you to do for me whatever I am going to ask" (Mark 10:35).

189. Apostles' Earthly Ambitions.—James and John had never forgotten the ravishing glories of Christ's Transfiguration, which, with Peter, they had been privileged to witness about a year previously. They had noted then that the Transfiguration had directly followed upon and been connected with Christ's prediction of His Passion, and this, in turn, they had been taught to consider as the necessary preliminary to His glorification. Hence, when Christ once again, with even greater clearness of detail, spoke to His Apostles of His proximate Passion (Mark 10:33, 34; Matt. 20:18, 19), before the eyes of the brothers, James and John, rose up the vision of the Transfiguration. And what then had been but a transitory glimpse, though ravishing even unto ecstasy, they concluded would now soon become a permanent reality in which all Christ's disciples should share. Did they, perhaps, even desire to emulate the positions of Moses and Elias?

Moreover, the sons of Zebedee had not forgotten Christ's words to Peter when that Apostle had asked what the disciples' reward for following the Messias would be: "To you I say indeed; that you who have followed me, when the time of the re-creation of the world comes (ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ) and the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne of His glory, you too shall sit upon twelve thrones, to judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel" (Matt. 19:28). It would seem that even now, in this last year of their following of Christ, the disciples' comprehension of the Messias' mission and function was still at times clouded by foolish, apocalyptic Jewish preconceptions.

Their principles were still too often "of the earth, earthy," carnal, "according to the will of the flesh" (John 1:13), "of blood"—that is, they made much of blood-relationship to the Messias, as was the mind of the Jews: "We are the seed of Abraham" (John 8:33; Matt. 3:9; Luke 5:8).

Basing themselves upon *such* considerations, James and John had apparently some justification for their petition to occupy posts of honor in the Jewishly conceived Messianic Kingdom. For, it is probable that by their mother, Salomé, through St. Ann, they were the disciples most closely related to Christ. Besides, they together with Peter had been selected as witnesses to the raising from the dead of the little daughter of Jaïrus (Mark 5:37), and also had been present at the Transfiguration. These same two Apostles previously had manifested fiery zeal in the service of their Master, by wishing to call down fire from heaven upon certain inhospitable Samaritans (Luke 9:54). Them also Christ Himself had distinctively named "Sons of Thunder" (*i.e.*, the Thunderers), probably on account of the brilliancy and power of their preaching. Then also John, possibly the youngest of the Apostles, had always been treated with special affection by Christ; he was indeed the favorite of the Master, "the disciple . . . whom Jesus loved" (John 19:26; 21:7).

190. Caution of the Boanerges.—But James and John were not going to base their petition for primacy upon their own personal standing alone. They had not forgotten the exemplary rebuke administered when once before Christ had been directly appealed to in a contention for the honors of His Kingdom (Matt. 18:1; Mark 9:33; Luke 9:46). Hence astutely, as became the sons of Zebedee, they would employ as mediator a person to whom Christ was deeply obligated in temporal matters, and who was at the same time their own mother, namely, Salomé. In the Gospels, she is ever given a prominent place among the benefactresses of Christ and His Apostles, to whom she ministered of her substance (Luke 8:3). This lady who had given her two sons to Our Lord, because of her husband's comparatively well-to-do position (he hired men in his fishing business), could afford, with

other women of means, to follow Christ in His missionary travels and to contribute towards His living. Salomé, the mother, then, was made a party to the ambitious schemes of James the Elder and John the Favorite.

TEXT OF INCIDENT OF SALOMÉ AND HER SONS

Matthew 20: 20-23.

20. Then came to Him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her sons, adoring and asking something of Him.

21. Who said to her: "What wilt thou?" She said to Him: "Say that these my two sons may sit, the one upon Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left, in Thy kingdom."

22. And Jesus answering said: "You know not what you ask. Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink?" They say to Him: "We can."

23. He saith to them: "My chalice indeed you shall drink; but to sit on My right or left hand is not Mine to give to you, but to them for whom it is prepared by My Father."

Mark 10: 35-40.

35. And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, come to Him, saying: "Master, we desire that whatsoever we shall ask, Thou wouldst do it for us."

36. But He said to them: "What would you that I should do for you?"

37. And they said: "Grant to us, that we may sit, one on Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left hand, in Thy glory."

38. And Jesus said to them: "You know not what you ask. Can you drink of the chalice that I drink of: or be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized?"

39. But they said to Him: "We can." And Jesus saith to them: "You shall indeed drink of the chalice that I drink of: and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized, you shall be baptized.

40. "But to sit on My right hand, or on My left, is not Mine to give to you, but to them for whom it is prepared."

191. Passion in the Offing.—Christ's little party was approaching Jericho on the last annual trip to Jerusalem for the celebration of the Pasch. An air of gloomy foreboding hung over the devoted men and women following the Master, who, according to His habit, walked somewhat ahead in solitary communion with His Father (Luke 9: 55, 10: 23; Matt.

9:22). The Saviour halts upon the way (Matt. 20:17—Greek), calls the Twelve about Him, and with greater detail than upon the two previous occasions announces to them His proximate Passion: "Lo, we are going up to Jerusalem, and all things which have been written through the Prophets concerning the Son of Man, shall be fulfilled. He shall be betrayed to the chiefs of the hierarchy, and to the Scribes, and they shall have Him sentenced to death. And they shall hand Him over to the Gentiles, by whom He shall be mocked and scourged and spit upon and crucified and put to death—but on the third day thereafter He shall rise again" (Matt. 20:18–19; Mark 10:33–34; Luke 18:31–33).

Then the Master walked on ahead once more in solitary contemplation of the horrors awaiting Him, whilst the Apostles dropped back a respectful distance to discuss among themselves this doleful prophecy and to communicate it to the others of the party. There was much shaking of heads and wagging of beards, but all to no purpose. They believed, indeed, what the Master had told them, but could see no reason therefor: the Passion pages of the Prophets were sealed to their understanding until after the Resurrection (Luke 24:25–27). "And they grasped none of these things, and this matter remained obscure to them, and they did not understand the things said" (Luke 18:34).

192. Salomé's Interview.—As for the two Sons of Thunder, though their understanding of the Passion phase in the economy of the Messianic Kingdom was probably no less defective than that of the others of Christ's followers, nevertheless their nimbler wit seized upon the outstanding fact of some imminent change—and of the Resurrection. Moreover, from their previous experience, Passion prophecy on the part of the Master was intimately associated with Transfiguration glory. Now, therefore (τότε), to their minds it appeared high time to make secure the fulfillment of their ambitious desires. They consult with their pious mother. Thereupon Salomé, accompanied by her two stalwart sons, leaves the rest of the disciples and hastens forward towards the Master, still walking alone ahead. He stops on noticing her approach.

She falls to her knees, whilst her sons stand shamefacedly by. Then she opens their plea in wily feminine form:

"Master, I desire that Thou wouldst grant what I am about to ask of Thee" (Mark 10:35c).

How great the simplicity of heart of this fond mother striving to assure a signal favor to her sons! What familiar confidence towards Christ, to attempt to catch Him in her artless, feminine trap of a blind blanket promise!

The Master looks upon her kneeling before Him, but does not, perhaps, glance at her sons. He asks her gravely and kindly:

"What dost thou desire?" (Matt. 20:21a).

Christ would not scold His favorite warm-hearted followers, much less cause the least grief to their good mother. Salomé bursts forth with her plea:

"Promise that these two sons of mine be enthroned, the one on Thy right hand, the other on Thy left, in the coming Kingdom of Thy glory" (Mark 10:37; Matt. 20:21).

Then the Master's glance passes to His two brave Thunderers, standing timorously by whilst their mother pleads their ambitious desire. But Christ's face is not stern; its gravity is even illumined by a quiet smile, as He addresses the two youthful Apostles, letting them know by the plural of His language that He was quite aware of their so carefully arranged scheme:

"You do not understand what you are requesting." But He will likewise take advantage of the occasion to put their enthusiasm for Himself to the test and to draw from them a meritorious pledge of their faithfulness. Therefore, He continues:

"Can you drink the bitter chalice of humiliation which I am about to drink, or be baptized with the fiery ordeal of suffering wherein I am about to be plunged?"

The Thunderers' enthusiastic loyalty to their beloved Master flashes forth in one quick word: δυνάμεθα (We can!).

The eyes of the Master light up in pleased appreciation of their faithfulness, even though He knows that its source is as yet, for the most part, but blind personal enthusiasm.

There remains much still to be purified and perfected by the Holy Spirit, who "will teach them all things." But Christ's vision also looks ahead far into future years, and there beholds the generous carrying out of the challenge, so bravely accepted on the road to Jericho. He sees James slain as the first martyr of the apostolic band by the sword of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:2); He sees John apprehended at Rome, cast into the cauldron of boiling oil and miraculously saved, laboring as an exile in the mines of the Isle of Patmos. With this vision before Him, the Master could indeed prophetically announce:

"The chalice which I shall drink, you indeed also shall drink, and with the baptism wherewith I am to be baptized you also shall be baptized" (Mark 10:39c).

193. Corrective Lesson.—But, though the unhesitating acceptance of Christ's challenge to suffering with Himself deserved His appreciation, the spirit and the principles which had actuated the sons of Zebedee in precipitating this scene was none the less worthy of censure—or rather, it demanded an exposition of the correct principle of God's distribution of supernatural rewards. Therefore, the Master went on:

"But the honor of sitting on My right hand or on My left is not for Me to give, except unto those for whom this has been prepared by My Father" (Matt. 20:23c; Mark 10:40). The meaning of the last clause might more definitely, though less literally, be expressed: ". . . except unto those whom My Father has prepared for this."

Our Lord informs James and John that He as Man has to act within the scope of His own providential decrees as God. It is a basic axiom of theology that all the divine *opera ad extra* are wrought by the three Persons of the Trinity acting together, or, perhaps better stated, they are wrought through the one divine Nature. Nevertheless, by certain analogies of fitness, divers external operations are specially ascribed to certain of the divine Persons: thus creation, providence, predestination are more particularly referred to the Father, as redemption is to the Son and sanctification or perfection to the Holy Ghost. In this sense, likewise, the Son

cannot assign heavenly honors except as their recipients have already been designated by the Father's predestination. From the closing texts of this incident, the difficulty has been raised that Christ seems to deny having power to confer the dignities of His glorious reign upon whomsoever He pleased. A contrast seems to be drawn between the power of the Father and that of the Son, apparently in favor of the former.

This apparent contrast between the dispositive powers of the Father and the Son seems to be indicated by the Vulgate reading "*vobis,*" but quite disappears when the Greek text is considered, where the best MSS. and many of the Fathers omit "to you." But the Vulgate "*vobis*" serves to draw attention to the real contrast which is implicitly drawn between the sons of Zebedee, straightforwardly petitioning for certain Messianic honors without even a suggestion of qualification therefor, and the destinatories of heavenly dignities receiving them through predestination, which is ever *in prævisis meritis.*

194. Predestination and Merits.—For the "preparation" of honors in heaven, so frequently mentioned in Scripture, is surely to be taken with St. Augustine rather in the sense that Christ "parat . . . modo mansiones, mansionibus præparando mansores."[2] The free predestinational decreeing of certain supernal honors for any individual includes at the same time the decree of their being correspondingly merited by that individual, just as it includes the giving of the necessary graces by God. From man's standpoint, then, an individual's degree of honor in heaven is not derived from the *Willkür,* or arbitrary decision, of God, but inextricably bound up with his own merits. And merit consists not in mere empty desire, but in good works according to capacity. For "not every one that saith to Me: 'Lord! Lord!' shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of My Father" (Matt. 7:21); only "he that shall conquer, shall thus be clothed in white garments" (Apoc. 3:5); "he that shall conquer, I will make him a pillar in the temple of My God"

[2] Augustine, *Tract. lxviii in Ioan.*

(Apoc. 3:12); and again, only "to him that shall conquer I will give to sit with Me on My throne, as I also have overcome, and am set down with My Father on His throne" (Apoc. 3:21). When penning those lines, a generation later, did the Seer of Patmos recall that incident of his youth and express the basic lesson it had inculcated?

In the Gospel incident, Christ ascribes the conferring of supernal honors to His Father, by predestination inclusive of merits to be earned; in the Apocalypse, He vindicates the conferring of these same honors as His own proper function as judge of the merits acquired in life's battle, according as He had said in His lifetime: "Neither doth the Father judge any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son" (John 5:22).

Art. 8: CHRIST'S TESTAMENT (John 19:26–27) [1]

195. "Woman, Behold Thy Son!"—"Testabatur de cruce Christus, et inter matrem et discipulum dividebat pietatis officia. Condebat Dominus non solum publicum sed etiam domesticum testamentum. Et hoc eius testamentum signabat Ioannes, dignus tanti testatoris testis." With these words does St. Ambrose refer to that text of St. John's Gospel which reads: "Now, by the cross of Jesus there stood His Mother, and His Mother's sister, Mary Cleophas,[2] and Mary the Magdalene. Jesus therefore seeing His Mother standing with the disciple whom He loved, says to His Mother: 'Woman, behold thy son!' Thereupon He says to the disciple: 'Behold thy Mother!' And from that hour the disciple took her unto his own" (John 19:25–27).

What is the significance of this incident occurring at the very culmination of the Passion? It is related by no Evangelist but St. John, who also alone has recorded the first occa-

[1] Reprinted from *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, June, 1925.

[2] The moot questions, whether here "His Mother's sister" is to be taken as in apposition, and therefore to be identified with "Mary Cleophas," and just what the relationship of the woman designated as "His Mother's sister" was to Our Lady, are not discussed, as their varying solutions do not affect the point.

sion of public prominence of Our Lady at the miracle of Cana, when she was similarly addressed by her divine Son with the formal title of "Woman." And, shortly before recording this incident in his Gospel, St. John likewise had in his Apocalypse (12)—where He gave the lineaments of Christ's own mother to the wondrous figure of the "Woman" who typifies the Church of all ages—raised a monument *ære perennius* to her whose familiar company he had shared during the long years from her divine Son's death until her own sweet passing away.

It must be frankly admitted at the start that the patristic commentators generally suggest a quite literal, simple, and very limited and natural significance for this incident: namely, that Christ, actuated by a son's natural affection for his mother, desired by this act simply to have Our Lady's future provided for. Following these, even St. Thomas says in his Commentary on the passage: "Primo ponitur sollicitudo (Christi) quantum ad curam discipuli, quam matri imposuit; secundo, quantum ad curam matris, quam discipulo commisit."

But the text of Sacred Scripture is no more a dead, inert mass than are the dogmas of the Church. Both, whilst in themselves unchanged and unchangeable, admit of growth and development of their understanding by the members of the Church through the course of ages.[3] In this sense may Cardinal Newman's figure of the grain of mustard seed be applied also to the Sacred Text and any passage thereof: under the influence of devout study it may grow and increase and expand its significance in the eyes of the faithful until it appears as a veritable tree with many branches of celestial meanings.

196. Connection with Cana.—The search for an ulterior significance in the incident of John 19:25–27, is stimulated by the fact, first of all, that the ancient Fathers themselves in their commentaries thereon seem to feel dimly and grope for a wider and deeper sense. Thus already St. Augustine, probably because of the keyword "Woman," points to some

[3] For a thorough and excellent exposition of this whole matter see Cardinal Lépicier's *De Stabilitate et Progressu Dogmatis* (Rome, 1910).

connection here with the miracle of Cana at the opening of the Messianic mission. He writes: "Hæc nimirum est illa hora de qua Iesus aquam conversurus in vinum dixerat: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea.'" St. Thomas recognizes a similar affinity: "Sed attende quod supra (Ioan. 2:3) quando mater dixit: 'Vinum non habent,' dicit: 'Nondum venit hora mea,' scilicet passionis qua patiar. . . . Unde et modo eam recognoscit matrem."[4]

Moreover, the ordinary literal interpretation of John 19:25–27, whereby the significance is restricted to a provision for Our Lady's future earthly welfare, motivated by a private personal relationship, is not entirely devoid of difficulties. Thus, it might be asked: Why is an act of purely private and personal import given such prominence right at the crucial moment of the Passion, which is universal and perpetual in its application? Why, if provision for the temporal care of Our Lady was the exclusive cause of this incident, is St. John *first* entrusted *to* the guardianship of Mary, before ever he is called upon to look after her? Again, if the temporal care of Our Lady was the exclusive or even main object of this act of Christ, would He not more fittingly (*convenientius*) have entrusted His Mother to some of the Holy Women, to a near relative of hers, rather than to a comparatively strange man? This difficulty is the more striking, as the very context notes that a near female relative of Our Lady, perhaps a half-sister, occupied a place beneath the Cross, denoting a love and fidelity to Christ like to St. John's own. Lastly, in the above hypothesis, why does Christ address His Mother by the formal and distant-sounding title of "Woman" instead of by the endearing and affectionate term "Mother," which was clearly to be expected from their private and personal relationship?

197. The Passion Setting.—To arrive at a solution of these difficulties, and indeed to grasp the broad significance of the

[4] The reader will remark that this conclusion (if limited to the sense that Christ in John 19:25–27, acknowledges Mary specifically as *His* Mother) is rather awkward, when it is borne in mind that therein He addresses His Mother by a deliberately different title, and really makes her the Mother of another.

whole incident, it is well to unroll again its full setting in the Passion drama.

The chill winds of a March day sweep over a bleak knoll within a stone's throw of the walls of ancient Jerusalem, and there a fated nation is gathered to look upon the shame of Mary and of Mary's Son. It is rumored that a King is being put to death. Rude foreign soldiers with difficulty hold back the swarming crowd from a bare spot on the knoll, where blood splashes and stains show that executioners have performed duties still more horrible. In the midst are set three crosses, and at the foot of one of these stands Mary, beside the heaving, unrecognizable body of her Son, cloaked now in the crimson of His own ebbing blood. Near her is St. John, Christ's favorite and most faithful disciple.

Three hours of slow, agonizing minutes pass over the Victim on Calvary, the Mother steeped in woe, and the watchers by the Cross. Never yet have minutes so full of pain, so full of love, fallen through Time's glass. For Christ, in this brief but supreme interval of history, is sacrificing Himself entirely—"emptying Himself" in St. Paul's phrase—for the supernatural perfection of all men of all times. Consequently, every action and every word of the divine Victim during these three gloomy hours cannot have a *merely temporary and local* significance, but must be accounted as long and broad and deep as the whole mystery of the Redemption itself.

Between intervals of dumb, agonizing silence, slow, painful, deliberate words proceed from the disfigured, thorn-crowned head upon the Cross, and to the Mother's ear the voice sounds strangely harsh and unfamiliar in its physical agony. She had already heard the prayer for the executioners: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"—and she had understood how all mankind was comprehended in the breadth of that pleading. She had heard the sentence of forgiveness pronounced upon the Good Thief, and had therein realized the utter generosity of God to all repentant sinners. And then Mary must have had a premonition that for herself those fever-burnt lips would utter some

word that should direct her to the zenith, the culmination, of her life-long coöperation in the Redemption.

The bruised eyelids of Jesus are raised wearily over those ever-loving but now scarcely seeing eyes. They recognize, standing in the gloom by the Cross, Mary, the Co-redemptrix, and John, the beloved faithful disciple.

Christ has now given almost all for men: soon even His life shall have been sacrificed for them. But one thing yet remains that can be given, one thing that He loves even more than life itself, and this too in His utter love He will give before His life is spent. Soon indeed men will no longer be outcasts and orphans; they will have been reconciled by their Elder Brother, Jesus, to their Father in Heaven. But, a Mother, too, He will provide for them in their new spiritual regeneration, as they had had both Adam and Eve as parents of their natural life.

Christ dying will now make His testament to the world, and therein He will leave to His true followers of every age all that still remains to Him on earth—His Mother. He will make this testament in the mystical manner which the Hebrews understood and loved, and His Mother particularly will grasp its significance and extent. For her great soul is attuned by the Holy Spirit to every thought of His.

198. Title of Co-redemptrix.—The Messias' deliberate words fall through the now sullen silence upon Mary's ear: "Woman, behold thy son!" . . .

"Woman!"—what wide vistas of association this one word opens to Mary! For it is the key-word of her public and official function in the economy of the Redemption. It was first applied to her in Eden's garden on the drear, hushed evening of the Fall, when she was promised by the all-merciful God as *the Woman,* by excellence, of the human race, the true "Mother of the Living" (Gen. 3:20), the true and fitting co-partner of *the Man* ("the Son of Man")—titles of which their first bearer, Eve, had made a mockery. And down through the centuries of Hebrew history this title, with but slight variations, had ever been repeated of Mary in the supreme prophecies foretelling the Messianic mission. As the

"Virgin that bears a Son" (Is. 7:14), as the "Woman that compasseth a Man" (= mankind? Jer. 31:22), as "She that travaileth until she bring forth" (Mich. 5:3), had Mary's future function been designated. And lastly, when her divine Son actually opened His Messianic mission with the miracle at Cana, and desired her coöperation in that most significant act, He too had Himself addressed her by her formal title, "Woman," and had even then, when she assisted with her words in the beginning of the union of His Church with Him by faith, foreshadowed the hour to come when she would coöperate with Him also in the completion of that union in the sacrifice of love upon the Cross, where once again, as it were, the clear water of faith would in Christ's followers be changed to the ruddy wine of supernatural charity.

Thus now, at the very crisis of the Redemption, Mary hears herself addressed, not by the endearing but private term of "Mother," but by her formal title as Co-redemptrix of the world: "Woman." And what does the Messias demand of her at this supreme hour of His mission? "Woman, behold thy son!"

199. John Type of Faithful.—Our Lady's glance falls upon St. John, standing faithfully, a true child of God, near the Cross of the Redeemer. In a flash of supernatural enlightenment, she realizes it all. This pure, faithful disciple of Christ, beloved by Him as a favorite, is the perfect type and exemplar of all who were ever to be followers of Christ, brethren of Jesus, children of God. Exempt from the curse of Eve, Mary indeed had "brought forth her first-born Son" (Luke 2:7) without pain or anguish at Bethlehem. But now on Calvary, "being with child ('with the rest of her seed, who keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ,' Apoc. 12:17), she cried travailing in birth and was in pain to be delivered" (Apoc. 12:2). For, this was the hour of her birthing of mankind, of those who were "brethren of Christ" (Heb. 2:11–17), and therefore spiritually her children also.[5]

[5] In the interpretation of John 19:26–27, the Church clearly accepts a secondary Scripture sense as inspired. Thus, Pius VIII (in the Bull

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200. Mary Mother of Men.—Hence, from that instant, at the word of the Son of her flesh, her immense maternal love gushed forth for mankind—this new child of her pain and sorrow—to spread in a mighty stream over the earth during time and to continue even down the endless reaches of eternity.

Since parental and filial relationship is perfect only when it is mutual, the lips of the thorn-crowned head upon the Cross part again to utter the completing words, addressed this time to the disciple: "Behold thy Mother!" By these words was implanted in the heart of St. John, and through him in the hearts of all the faithful (of whom he was the fit representative and type), a genuine filial relationship and affection towards Mary, the Mother of their Elder Brother.

Christ's testament is made. By the omnipotent power of His word, the ever-blessed Virgin and the Beloved Disciple, representing all the faithful, are as truly—though spiritually and in the supernatural plane—related as mother and son, as, by that same omnipotent word on the evening preceding, bread and wine had been changed into Christ's true Body and Blood. Mary, in a higher sense than Eve of old, has been constituted Mother of Men,[6] and these in turn have ever

Præstantissimum of 1837, extending to the Brothers of the Congregations of Our Lady of Sorrows in Madrid the privileges granted to the Third Order of Servites) says: "Ipsa enim Mater nostra . . . cui nos tradidit Christus in cruce moriturus." Likewise, Benedict XIV (in the "Golden Bull" *Gloriosæ Dominæ* of September 27, 1748): "Catholica Ecclesia, Sancti Spiritus magisterio edocta, eamdem (Beatam Virginem) . . . tamquam amantissimam Matrem extrema sui Sponsi morientis voce sibi relictam filialis pietatis affectu prosequi studiosissime semper professa est." Leo XIII on several occasions definitely insisted on this interpretation. Thus, in the Encyclical *Augustissimæ* (September 12, 1897) as in an earlier one (September 5, 1895), he said: "Moriens matrem ille (Christus) suam Ioanni discipulo Matrem voluit relictam testamento memori: 'Ecce filius tuus!' In Ioanne autem, quod perpetuo sensit Ecclesia, designavit Christus personam humani generis, eorum in primis qui sibi fide adhærescerent."

[6] "C'est donc," concludes Bossuet (*Sermon sur le Rosaire*), "tout le peuple nouveau, c'est toute la société de l'Eglise que Jésus recommande à la Sainte Vièrge en la personne de ce cher disciple; et par cette divine parole, elle devient non seulement mère de saint Jean, mais encore de tous les fidèles. Et par là ne voyez-vous pas, selon la pensée de saint Epiphane, que la bienheureuse Marie est l'Eve de la nouvelle alliance et la mère de tous les vivants, unie spirituellement au nouvel

since spontaneously acknowledged this relationship. Even in this deepest sense are true the concluding words of the text: "And from that hour the Disciple took her unto his own" (*in suam,* according to an old Vulgate variant).

Adam, pour être la mère de tous les élus?" Full treatment of the theology of this question may be seen in Cardinal Lépicier's *De Beatissima Virgine* (4th ed., Rome, 1912), 495–513.

FOURTH PART

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Οὔτε γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν.

Epist. ad Diognetum, 5.

Les Actes des Apôtres m'émeuvent plus que l'Évangile. En celui-ci, tout est trop divin . . . en celui-là l'homme paraît. . . . Jésus-Christ vient de quitter la terre. . . . Les voilà seuls en face de l'univers, qui ne croit rien de ce qu'ils croient, qui n'en sait même rien encore, et qu'ils doivent convertir à leur foi du pied de la croix qui a vu périr leur Maître! Ils vont . . . tracer dans la corruption du siècle les premiers linéaments de ces mœurs où la charité s'enflammera des glaces de la pureté. . . . C'est à Jérusalem qu'a commencé ce drame surnaturel; c'est à Rome qu'il se termine, après avoir passé par Antioche, Athènes et Corinthe.

Lacordaire.

FOURTH PART

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Art. 1: AUTHOR AND SOURCES OF ACTS

201. External and Internal Testimony.—That the Acts of the Apostles was written by St. Luke (the "sectator Pauli") is witnessed to by the Muratorian Canon (lines 34–37), by Ireneus[1] (181–189), who makes numerous citations therefrom, by Tertullian,[2] Clement of Alexandria,[3] the Apostolic Constitutions,[4] and other Patristic writers. Whilst Acts was not so well known among early Christians in general as some of the other New Testament writings, yet there is no record of hesitation as to its authenticity and canonicity.[5]

The internal evidence for the Lukan authorship of Acts may be summarized as follows: Acts contains a travel diary written by a companion of St. Paul; this companion was Luke. But the writer of the travel diary has composed likewise all the rest of Acts. Again, the author of Acts is the same person who wrote the Third Gospel, who—according to tradition—is Luke. Jacquier, checking up on the writer's vocabulary, has counted 107 words in the travel diary which are common also to the rest of Acts and the Third Gospel, but are not found in the other Gospels.[6] Similarly, out of 143 words or expressions used at least four times each in the Third Gospel

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, III, 13, 3; 14, 1; 15, 1.
[2] *De Ieiunio, X; Adv. Marcionem*, VI, 2.
[3] *Stromata*, V, 12.
[4] *Constit. Apostol.*, II, 6.
[5] When *Homilia II in Ascensionem et Initium Actorum*, ascribed to St. John Chrysostom, says that for the author of Acts some hold Clement of Rome, some Barnabas, and some Luke, it may be confusing opinion on the author of Hebrews.
[6] E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris, 1926), p. lxi. This large work sums up the study on Acts to its date.

(hence common or habitual phraseology of the author), 108 are to be found also in Acts, and 43 in the travel diary.

202. The We-Sections.—In Acts, from chapter 16:10 on to 28:16, there is a variation in writing, some sections being written in the first person plural (*Wirstücke*), thus including the writer, while others are given in the ordinary impersonal historical or narrative style. Thus, Luke closes the account of the Pauline missionary band's stay at Philippi (Acts 16:12 *ss.*) with the freeing of the young female slave from possession, concluding: "She, having followed Paul and *us*, cried out . . ." (Acts 16:17). Then, as happening some time later, Luke tells of the arrest of Paul and Silas (Acts 16:19 *ss.*) in the third person, as if he himself and Timothy had not been present at the incident, and had not been parties to the subsequent beating and imprisonment of Paul, the conversion of the jailer, and vindication of the missioners. The same impersonal style of narrative continues the account of Paul's and Silas' departure and journey to Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth. In Acts 20:6 (some years later in elapsed time), the "we" style of narrative is resumed, to continue during the account of the trip of Paul's party from Philippi over Troas, Assos, etc., to Cæsarea and finally to Jerusalem (Acts 21:15). In fact, the bulk of the second part of Acts (after Acts 16:10) is composed in the "we" style.

The conclusion of most scripturists is that St. Luke kept a kind of journal of his travels, which he later used when compiling the second part of Acts. It is not that the second part of Acts is the whole of Luke's diary. He seems to have selected therefrom the portions in which he was in company with St. Paul, omitting his own merely personal vicissitudes, and supplementing from other sources (mostly, perhaps, from Paul himself) important incidents at which he was not present himself.

Luke is never so Lukan as in the "we"-sections.[7] He is

[7] There are three large "we"-sections: (A) from Acts 16:1 to 16:17, beginning at Troas and closing with the arrest of Paul and Silas at Philippi; (B) from Philippi (Acts 20:5) to the conference

there more elegant in the handling of his language, and uses more freedom, as he is not hampered by anxiety to reproduce accurately hearsay information, possibly given in Aramaic. Hence, in literary style, the second part of Acts is notably different from that portion preceding Acts 16:10. In the second part, however, there is no remarkable divergence to be seen between the "we"-sections and the other portions. Luke seems to have composed these freely, not following any written sources, but probably chiefly Paul's own account for what he himself had not witnessed.

203. First Part of Acts.—Far different is the case for practically the first half of Acts—especially up to chapter 13, wherein Luke begins to record the extension of the Church beyond Palestine into the heathen world. Many of the happenings there related took place probably before Luke had any acquaintance with Christianity. He had to get his information from earlier sources, oral or written. And the influence of such sources is manifest in those pages, although it is practically impossible to segregate the sources themselves.[8] Indeed, the antilogies found, especially when the same incident is more than once spoken of, are best explained by recourse to a theory of traditions, slightly differing as they were derived from diverse sources.

Thus Acts 1:1—5:52 might plausibly be derived from a purely *Jerusalem tradition.* In this part, chapters 2 and 3 often parallel with and diverge from each other as doublets. It is conjectured that chapter 3 may largely come from a written Greek source. Peter's discourse (Acts 3:12–26) contains some of the most archaic passages of the New Testament, such as the title παῖς θεοῦ, "God's Servant," for the Messias (Acts 3:13, 26; 4:24–27).

Dieu advances an hypothesis (already suggested by others)

between Paul and James the Less at Jerusalem (Acts 21:24); (C) from Paul's departure from Palestine (Acts 27:1) to his arrival at Rome (Acts 28:16).

[8] It will be remembered that, in the introduction to his Gospel (Luke 1:1-2), St. Luke had definitely avowed his use of both oral and written sources. As Acts is professedly but a sequel to the Third Gospel, there is no difficulty about assuming that for its composition Luke likewise used such sources.

that Acts 1–15 may be all derived from a source written in Greek by John-Mark, relative of Barnabas, and author of the Second Gospel. Reasons: Mark's Gospel closes very abruptly (Mark 16:8). Mark, according to tradition, was an intimate of Peter and recorded his speeches: Acts 1–15 deals largely with Peter and records his discourses. In the first part of Acts there is frequent mention of Temple visits by the disciples—as in Mark's Gospel—and also of Herod Antipas.

In Acts 8:5–40, 9:31—11:18, 12:1–23, there might possibly be seen the influence of a *Cæsarean tradition,* emanating perhaps from the deacon Philip who resided at Cæsarea. Finally, an *Antiochian tradition* might be surmised for at least Acts 11:19–30. Harnack holds that Acts 6:1—8:4 are from an Antiochian source, although they might have come with about equal probability from Jerusalem or Paul.

Art. 2: PURPOSE AND PLAN OF ACTS

204. Apologetical Aspect.—Dead and buried is the theory that Luke wrote Acts to glorify Paul at the expense of Peter, although one might say that the author is concerned to show by the number of miracles wrought, etc., that Paul was a legitimate Apostle, as active and powerful for the Gentiles as Peter was for the Jews. It must be remembered always that Acts is, as it were, a continuation of Luke's Gospel. There Luke had shown that Christ and His work were indeed the flowering and fulfillment of Israel's ancient religion. The Church of Christ was shown as being but the worldwide expansion and application of the correct basic belief of Jewry. Luke, then, is anxious to make clear the derivation of Christ from the Synagogue, of the Apostles from Christ, and the union between St. Paul and the Twelve, in order to establish the legitimacy of the Christian religion as the true Israel and universal, everlasting Kingdom of David.

But the Jews rejected Christ and His disciples! St. Luke answers the difficulty under two heads: first, the Jews have

ever rejected the prophets and messengers God sent them; second, Christ and the members did no wrong against Israel. It was always the Jews of the Pharisaic clique who were the aggressors. The religion preached by Peter and Paul was legitimate in the Roman Empire. No competent magistrate had ever really found either Christ or Peter or Paul guilty of the accusations of disloyalty in the actions so often urged calumniously by certain Jews. As Pilate had said at Christ's trial: "You have presented unto me this man as one that perverteth the people. And behold! I having examined him before you, find no cause in this man, in those things whereof you accuse him—no, nor Herod either" (Luke 23:14–15)—so also the Sanhedrin, when they had apprehended Peter and John, "could say nothing against" them, but felt constrained to release them with mere unjustified threats (Acts 4:14–18). So the magistrates of Philippi also are constrained to vindicate Paul and Silas publicly (Acts 16:35–39), and Gallio, proconsul at Achaia, realizes that the matter of the religion preached by Paul is not something criminal to concern the guardian officers (Acts 18:12–17). Every court in which Roman justice had been really free to function, had acquitted Paul, and thereby had acquitted Christianity, the religion that Paul preached, of any taint of conspiracy against the State. This is a point St. Luke appears to wish to bring out for Theophilus.

205. Shows Activity of Holy Ghost.—Under another aspect, Acts might be considered the "Gospel of the Holy Ghost." Beginning with the "mighty wind" of Pentecost, it is the Holy Spirit who acts, speaks, enjoins, prohibits, and, in a word, is the principle animating and impelling all the chief personages of Acts. He it is who, beginning at Jerusalem with Peter's mass-conversion of his countrymen, then in semi-Jewish Samaria, then in Cæsarea and Antioch, then in the cities of Greece and Macedonia, and finally in the imperial capital, Rome itself, germinates, sprouts and makes to flourish the mighty spiritual Kingdom Christ had founded. Indeed, this prominence of the Holy Ghost in Acts is a phase deserving greater recognition and study.

206. Plan of Acts.—Being basically a history, Acts has no artificial argumentative plan, but mainly follows the natural development of events. The book opens with an Introduction (Acts 1:1-26) showing the connection between the Christ of Luke's Gospel and Pentecost. Christ's final commission to His disciples is the theme and mainspring of the whole history of Acts: "You shall receive the vigor of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to Me at Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and even to earth's limit" (Acts 1:7).

The first part (Acts 2:1—8:3) deals with the preaching and effects of the gospel message at Jerusalem, the plenary establishment of the Church, and the beginnings of Jewish opposition. Peter is prominent with his speeches, which are filled with unanswerable argumentation. This section closes with St. Stephen's martyrdom and the persecution by the Jews. In consequence of this, "the dispersed (Christians) went all about, announcing the word" (Acts 8:4; see also Acts 11:19).

This naturally brings on the next part (Acts 8:4—12:25), treating of the spread of the Church into Samaria, and to Damascus and Antioch. It contains the conversion of Saul-Paul (Acts 9:1–30), Peter's miracles at Lydda and Joppe, as well as the rise of the Judeo-Christian controversy concerning the imposition of the Mosaic legal observances on non-Hebrew Christians. It closes with another persecution, that of Herod Agrippa I (about 43–44), in which Peter is imprisoned. Upon his miraculous liberation, he left Jerusalem, probably for Antioch first, and eventually for Rome.[1] "Now the word of the Lord grew and increased" (Acts 12:24).

The third part (Acts 13:1—28:31) recounts the extension of the Church into the heathen world at large, chiefly through the labors of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. It contains: (A) the mission of Barnabas and Paul in Cyprus

[1] According to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 14, 6, Peter came to Rome during Claudius' reign (41–54); Orosius, *Hist.*, VII, 6, has "exordio regni Claudii."

(Acts 13:1–12); (B) mission of the same in southern Galatia (Acts 13:13—14:28); (C) the council at Jerusalem settling the Judeo-Christian Controversy (Acts 15:1–35): (D) Second Mission Journey (Acts 15:36—18:22); (E) Third Mission Journey (Acts 18:23—21:16): (F) Paul's visit to Jerusalem and imprisonment at Cæsarea (Acts 21:17—26:32); (G) Paul's voyage as a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome (Acts 27:1—28:31). The account stops abruptly, without giving the result of Paul's trial before Cæsar, which was an aquittal.

207. Style of Acts.—This book is one of the most fascinating of all Sacred Scripture. Beginning to read it anywhere, one is reluctant to lay it down, and turns page after page to follow with absorbed interest the vicissitudes of the expanding Church and its outstanding members. There is a vigor and freshness of movement in the episodes that seems to be a faint reflex of the mighty energy poured out upon the apostolic band on Pentecost. Yet, the telling itself is matter-of-fact, soberly historical, with careful recording of details.

In reading Acts, particularly the first half, one must bear in mind that at times Luke sets down a series of connected incidents, beginning in or centering about a given place or person, and covering a period of time, even of some years occasionally. Then follows another similar group of connected incidents, which, however, may not be chronologically subsequent to a previous group, but may be partially or wholly contemporaneous. Thus, in Acts 8:26–40, Luke gives the activity of Philip the Deacon from about 34 to 41—to reach back again to the year 33 in Acts 9:1.[2] In Acts 10 and 11:1–18, Luke brings the history of the Church up to the year 40. Then, in Acts 11:19, he goes back six or seven years and summarily recounts the history of the Antiochian community from its beginnings (34–35?) to about 43, when Paul is brought by Barnabas to Antioch.

[2] Dates here are Belser's (*Einleitung*, p. 157), who, it will be recalled, favors the theory of one and one-half years only of Christ's public ministry.

Art. 3: DATE OF ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

208. Internal Indications.—St. Jerome speaks of Luke's Acts, "cuius historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est, usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus in eadem urbe librum esse compositum." But otherwise there is little external testimony for the time of the composition of Acts. That this occurred before Jerusalem's destruction in 70, seems indicated by the fact that Luke never alludes to this catastrophe, although its previous occurrence would have been a convincing item in the course of Pauline anti-ceremonial propaganda which is such a feature of Acts. Nay, the text of Acts speaks of Jerusalem, "Solomon's Porch" in the Temple, the Antonia Keep (Acts 21:34), and other local buildings as still existing. That the Acts was written before the Roman State took up an officially hostile attitude towards Christians (which occurred in 64 with the Neronian persecution), might also be indicated by the fact that Roman officialdom, so frequently mentioned therein, is characterized by an attitude of fairness or, at worst, indifference towards the profession of the new religion. When haled before Roman courts or officers, Paul is confident of receiving justice. Luke emphasizes the impartiality of Roman justice (Acts 16:19–35, 18:12–17, 19:31). This feeling of confidence in the power for order of the Roman State would hardly have been so marked, had the book been written after that same State had turned to be a persecutor of Christianity. Heresies likewise are indeed mentioned, but as something in the future to be warned against (Acts 20:29). They are not represented as already active. But in the Pastoral Epistles written in 64–67, the defense of true doctrine as against heresy is made an outstanding duty for Timothy (I Tim. 1:1 *ss.;* II Tim. 3:1 *ss.*).

209. Abrupt Conclusion of Acts.—Beyond the above general indications, the closest landmark for dating the composition of Acts is to be found in the abrupt conclusion, which leaves Paul's fate, as it were, hanging in the air. Throughout Acts, the author had been at pains subtly to indicate that

Christianity was not inimical to the State. He had, as it were, cleverly enumerated precedents in which Paul had been haled before Roman tribunals for his religion, and had consistently been absolved of guilt. Then, in climax, Paul himself having appealed to the highest Roman court (Acts 25:11–12) is pictured in the closing paragraphs of Acts as awaiting his turn before Cæsar. Two years he has spent "out on bail," as moderns would say. Evidently from the language of Acts 28:30–31, at the time the last lines of Acts were written, this comparative liberty had ceased—probably because, in expectation of the near calling of his case on the calendar, Paul was removed to the sharper confinement of the barracks of the imperial bodyguard (Philip. 1:13). Now, why does Luke so strangely leave his readers in suspense as to the outcome of Paul's trial before Cæsar? Surely, had he known at the time of writing of the acquittal of Paul, he would have noted that as the climax of the Apostle's numerous favorable contacts with the Roman judicial system. The only answer is that, when Luke wrote the closing lines of Acts, Paul was just about to appear for trial before Cæsar; but that the subsequent acquittal had not yet taken place. After all, may not the book of Acts be taken as a kind of propaganda to induce a favorable state of mind on the part of Roman officialdom in regard to the Apostle's impending trial? And Theophilus, beyond doubt a man of rank (he is addressed as κράτιστος in Luke 1:3), if he was at Rome, may have had some influential connection with the court. At any rate, it seems probable that the composition of Acts may be dated not later than the spring of 63, just before Paul's trial and acquittal.

210. Hypothetical Third Work of Luke.—It has been proposed that the abrupt close of Acts is but a parallel to the similarly abrupt conclusion of Luke's Gospel, and that Luke either really did write, or at least had in mind to write, another or third work which should deal with Paul's trial and his activities later. An implication of this theory is that the close of Acts is but a handy literary division, in no wise indicating the time of the composition of Acts—which there-

upon is dated indefinitely later. This whole theory hangs upon one word: that Luke wrote "the *first* (πρῶτον) treatise" in Acts 1:1, instead of "the former or earlier" (πρότερον), which would have been correct Greek for referring to the earlier of two works only. The use of πρῶτον, it is claimed, shows that the writer had more than two books in mind. However, to base the existence of a complete and separate work on a mere lapse from classical precision of language is to subject the text to an analysis which no work, unless carefully revised by experts, could withstand. Hence no real argument for a hypothetical third Lukan work can be drawn from Acts 1:1.

211. Acts and Josephus. — Another objection raised against the earlier dating of Acts is that Luke seems to have been acquainted with Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities,* composed about 93–94. Josephus therein[1] relates how, under Cuspius Fadus as Judean procurator, "a certain magician whose name was Theudas persuaded a great part of the people . . . to follow him to the river Jordan." But, as the attempt was being made, Fadus' horsemen "slew many of them . . . and also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head." As following this incident chronologically, Josephus thereupon goes on to state that in the succeeding procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, "the sons of Judas of Galilee . . . who had caused people to revolt when Quirinius" took up the census, were executed.

Luke, on the other hand, records, as part of Gamaliel's speech before the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:36–37), that a certain Theudas, *before* the Quirinian census, "rose up" with "about four hundred men" and "was slain"; and that "*after* this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolling; he also perished." Thus, according to the text, the Theudas incident of Acts occurred about fifty years before the Theudas case of Josephus—which would have occurred about ten years *after* Gamaliel's time!

[1] Josephus, *Antiquities,* XX, v, 1–2; see also *Antiquities,* XVII, x, 5.

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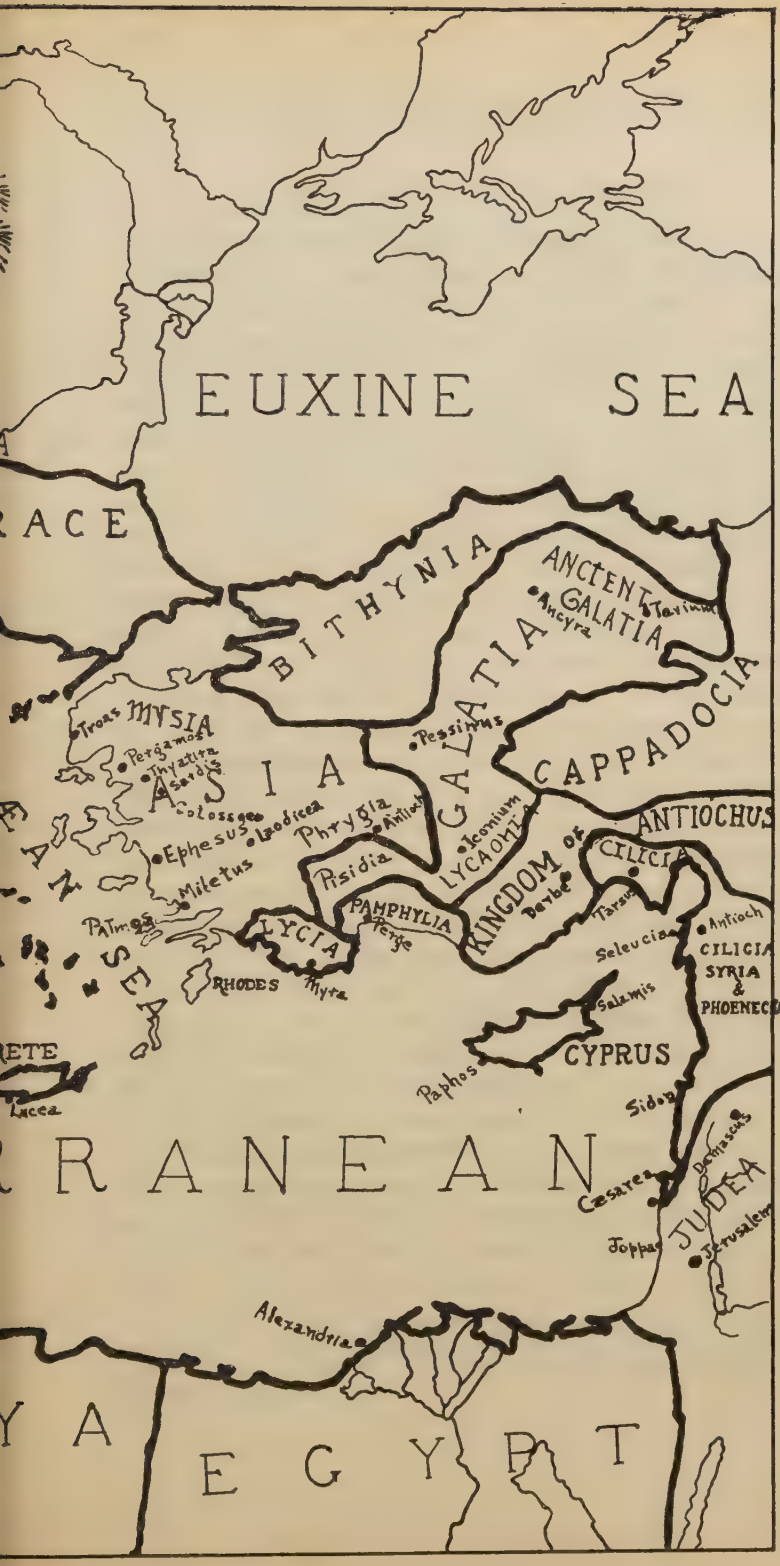

Y TRAVELS OF ST. PAUL

Art. 4: ST. LUKE AND ST. PAUL

212. Tradition and Internal Evidence.—There is no indication that Luke was a convert of Paul's. Rather, he may have been one of the first-fruits of Christianity at Antioch. It was there, probably, that St. Paul met him. And, if the Western reading of *D* and certain Old Latin fragments[1] be authentic, this first encounter of Luke with Paul might have taken place at Antioch at the time of the Agabus prophecy (Acts 11:28), when Barnabas had already brought Paul to Antioch from Tarsus. At least from the time of Paul's visit to Troas (Acts 16:10) on his second mission tour (about 52), Luke began to be with the Apostle of the Gentiles. For Acts 16:10 marks the beginning of the *Wirstücke,* the sections wherein the writer of Acts uses the first person plural. And he must soon have won the full confidence of the Apostle, for Paul took Luke with him on that journey to Jerusalem which he faced with such dire premonitions. There at Jerusalem, Luke could doubtless gather much information which he was later to utilize in composing his Gospel and the Acts, continuing the same activity during the two years of Paul's incarceration at nearby Cæsarea. As he then made the perilous sea-voyage with the captive Paul, and was with him again during the two years' additional detention of Paul at Rome, surely all this justified the titles ἀκόλουθος or *sectator Pauli* (follower of Paul), commonly applied to Luke in ancient tradition. Indeed, the Muratorian fragment states that Paul took Luke along with him *quasi iuris studiosum,* which may possibly mean "as his legal counsellor"—or, perhaps better, like the παράπομπος of ancient courts, as his *assessor* or helper.

213. Language Similarities.—Belser points out that Luke's writings occasionally show the influence of Paul's companionship by their use of Pauline terms and constructions. Thus, he would compare Luke 10:7b with I Tim. 5:18, Luke 11:49b with I Thess. 2:15, and Luke 11:29 with I Cor. 1:22. Such

1 "Eratque magna exultatio. Revertentibus (*var.:* congregatis) autem *nobis* ait (*ad.:* surgens) unus ex ipsis nomine Agabus . . ." (Acts 11:28, text of *d*). The use of the first person would indicate Luke's presence.

Pauline terms as πληροφορεῖν, κατηχεῖν, διακονεῖν and διακονία (see Acts 12:25 and Rom. 15:25, 31) are also frequent in Luke's works. Special likeness is traceable between St. Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist (I Cor. 11:23–29) and St. Luke's (Luke 22:19–20).

214. Thought Similarities.—But the characteristic of the Lukan writings which is best traceable to Pauline influence, is their broadness of concept, their universality. Thus, Luke's genealogy of Christ goes back to Adam, forefather of the *whole* human race (Luke 3:23–38). The angels' chant at Christ's birth is for peace to all men (Luke 2:14), and even Zachary's canticle conceives the redemption economy as prepared "before the face of all peoples" (Luke 2:31). The Acts (8:5 *ss.*) emphasize the mission of Philip and of Peter (Acts 10—11). St. Paul's concept of Christ's life-work was worldwide, rising above every barrier of nationality; and yet its merciful dispensations go down to the needs and sufferings of each individual. So also Christ in St. Luke's account rises above and combats narrowmindedness and violent fanaticism (Luke 9:49 *ss.*, 22:50 *ss.*), has pity on every human infirmity (Luke 7:11 *ss.*, 13:15 *ss.*, 19:41 *ss.*), and preaches a doctrine of charity beyond the ceremonial narrowness of the Jews (Luke 10:25–37, 11:41–46, 14:1–6, etc.).

Art. 5: "WESTERN" VARIANTS IN ACTS

215. Text of Acts.—The text of Acts has come down in two rather strikingly divergent forms. The one generally printed is that of the Old Uncial and Antiochian[1] groups of MSS. (for Acts sometimes consolidated as the "Oriental" or A-text), as contained in ℵ*BACHIP* and most of the Greek minuscules as well as St. Jerome's Vulgate. The variant text is mainly found in *Codex Bezæ* (*Cantabrigiensis*), *Dd*, the Fleury palimpsest and the Harklean apparatus—grouped as "Western" or B-text.

[1] See Article on N. T. MSS., nos. 28–36 above.

The B-text is marked by the usual "Western" characteristics: numerous additions, expansions, forming paraphrases or explanations. The following are some samples:

A-Text	B-Text
Acts 5:39: "But if it (=the Apostles' work) be from God, you will not be able to destroy them (var. "it"). (Look out) lest you be found battling against God."	"If this power be from God's will, you will not be able to destroy them, neither you nor kings nor tyrants. Keep your hands off these men, therefore, lest you be found battling against God."
Acts 19:6: "They spoke in tongues and prophesied."	"They spoke in strange tongues and understood them amongst themselves according as they translated them for each other, and certain ones prophesied."

The common text of Acts 21:16–17 might leave the impression that Paul and Luke made the long trip from Cæsarea to Jerusalem (102 kilometers) in a single day, and that Mnason's house, where the party stayed, was at Jerusalem. The "Western" text (*d*) has: "There came along with us (disciples) from Cæsarea who were to guide us to the man whose guests we were to be. Having come to a certain village, we stayed with a certain Mnason, a Cyprian, an old disciple. And leaving there we came to Jerusalem."

216. Value of B-text of Acts.—The general valuation of the "Western" text has been suggested before. For Acts, whilst the B-text variants are not demonstrably of Lukan origin, nevertheless they frequently seem to have originated with some one who, either out of his own personal knowledge or from still living traditions, was in a position to add real information in details to what was already written in Acts. However, certain indications of lateness[2] point to 100–140 as the earliest date of these variants. The earliest copyists, it will be remembered, were often more concerned to make the text clear and

[2] For example, the oppressing "kings and tyrants" in the variant of Acts 5:39 above cited, seem to point to a time after the Neronian persecution at least.

remove obscurities, than to keep it exact with the original at the expense of intelligibility.

217. The Apostolic Decree.—The decree of the Council at Jerusalem settling the question about the admission of Gentiles into the Church without binding them to the observance of the Mosaic ceremonial code, is given three times in Acts (15:19–20, 28–29; 21:25). The second is the most complete, and differs considerably in the B-text, as may be noted below:

A-Text	B-Text
Acts 15:28-29: "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us not to impose on you any burden beyond the necessary things [namely] to abstain from things offered idols and from blood *and from things strangled* and from fornication —doing without which you will act well."	"For it hath seemed good to us and the Holy Ghost not to impose on you any burden beyond the necessary things [namely] to abstain from things offered idols and from blood and from fornication, *and not to do to another what you do not wish done to yourselves*—doing without which you will act well."

According to St. Jerome, the word *a suffocatis* (πνικτῶν) was not found in all MSS. of his time.[3] The "Western" version reads like a primer-catechism: convert pagans are to abstain from idolatrous practices, homicide, impurity, and are to practise fraternal charity. It sounds like a later rewriting and adaptation of the decree to a time when the Judeo-Christian controversy[4] was quite a thing of the past, and the text was made useful merely as a brief moral code. The A-text faces exactly the point raised at the Jerusalem Council.

Both versions agree on the main issue: the Mosaic ceremonial code is not to be automatically made binding on non-Jews upon their being converted to Christianity. That was the dogmatic principle settled. The other part, the prohibitions, are secondary and disciplinary. In the A-text, these prohibitions are to be taken in the technical Jewish sense, as food-prohibitions, in the narrow interpretation of the so-called

[3] Jerome, *In Epist. ad Galatas*, V, 2.
[4] See article on "Judeo-Christian Controversy," nos. 248–250 below.

"Noachic Precepts."[5] These prohibitions were temporary disciplinary regulations for Christian communities which had a large number of Jews in their membership. Thus, their common association was made feasible by agreeing to certain standards of Jewish fastidiousness.

In the B-text, the prohibitions are probably to be read, not as Jewish *ceremonial* regulations, but as generic *moral* principles, being later thus broadly interpreted for the benefit of Gentile converts, when the Jewish problem was a thing of the past. Hence "strangled" not having such symbolic value, was omitted, and the negative "Golden Rule" inserted.

Art. 6: EARLY VISITS OF ST. PAUL TO JERUSALEM

218. The Difficulties.—The Acts of the Apostles speaks of three visits or journeys made by St. Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion and early in his career, up to and including the Council at Jerusalem. These are (A) Acts 9:26–29, of which Acts 22:17–21 is clearly a supplement; (B) Acts 11:30 and 12:25 (separating these two brief passages is the account of Herod Agrippa's persecution, martyrdom of James Zebedee, imprisonment and liberation of Peter, death of Herod); (C) Acts 15:2–30, including the Council at Jerusalem and the Apostolic decree concerning exemption of Gentiles from Mosaic ceremonial obligations.

Difficulty arises in harmonizing the history of Acts with statements made by St. Paul himself in Galatians. There he states that his first visit to Jerusalem was made three years after his conversion, and lasted only for a fortnight (Gal. 1:18–23=*G1*). He goes on to state that he did not make another visit at Jerusalem till 14 years after (his conversion?), when he went up with Barnabas and Titus (Gal. 2:1–10=*G2*).

[5] See Gen. 9:4–5. As filled out by later Jewry, these were: (1) not to live without some form of government; (2) to avoid blasphemy and (3) idolatry; (4) not to marry near of kin; (5) not to shed human blood nor (6) to rob; (7) not to eat blood or strangled animals. The uncircumcized "proselytes of the gate" had to observe these conditions as a minimum that Jews might associate with them.

The problem lies in identifying the two Jerusalem visits mentioned in Galatians with the proper corresponding ones amongst the three mentioned in Acts.

219. First Jerusalem Visit.—There is not much question about the identification of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The accounts of Gal. 1:18–23 and Acts 9:26–29 may be compared as follows:

ACTS = *A*	GALATIANS = *G1*
ANTECEDENTS	
Conversion of St. Paul; controversy with Damascus Jews.	Conversion of Paul. He does not go immediately to Jerusalem but into "Arabia"; returns to Damascus.
Let down from Damascus wall in basket by night (see II Cor. 11:33).	Three years after conversion, Paul goes to Jerusalem alone to visit Peter.
AT JERUSALEM	
Arrived at Jerusalem, Paul strives to mix with other Christians, who are afraid to trust him.	Paul remains personally unknown to the Christian communities of Judea, although they hear of and praise his conversion.
Barnabas introduces Paul "to the Apostles."	Paul sees Peter and James Zebedee only.
Paul gives account of his conversion; how he had seen Jesus; how he had preached Christianity at Damascus.	
Then Paul is accepted as one of the community at Jerusalem. He disputes with the Hellenist Jews, who thereupon seek his life.	
Paul in Temple has vision of Christ, telling him "to leave quickly" (Acts 22:17-21). The Jerusalem brethren, hearing of the threats against Paul, send him to Cæsarea.	
SUBSEQUENTS	
Paul goes thence to Tarsus.	Paul goes to "the districts of Syria and Cilicia," in which latter was Tarsus.

220. Harmonization.—Taking into account the inevitable difference of viewpoint and purpose of St. Luke and St. Paul in their respective writings, there is little difficulty in realizing that both these accounts speak of the same event. Both speak of the *first* visit after St. Paul's conversion. In both, Paul sets out *alone* from Damascus to Jerusalem. In Acts is given the motive for *fleeing from Damascus.* For mere safety, he might better have fled to Antioch or Tarsus. Galatians supplies the motive of *going to Jerusalem* (which was indeed not so safe), namely, conference with Peter.

As for the stay at Jerusalem, in the Galatians account Paul is argumentatively interested in *minimizing* his contact with the Apostles and the Judean circle of Christians, in order to make his point of autonomous Apostolic knowledge against the Galatians. But in Acts also it is to be seen that Paul's stay and activity was confined to the small city circle of Jerusalem. The vision-command of Acts 22:17 to "depart quickly" checks well with the "15 days" of Galatians.[1]

Acts says that, on leaving Jerusalem, Paul was brought to *Cæsarea* (on the sea); thence he would naturally go to Antioch in *Syria,* as Galatians mentions; thence into Cilicia to his home town of Tarsus (Acts). In Galatians, Paul mentions that a sojourn of his in "Arabia" divided his presence at Damascus. This is done simply in order to account for his whereabouts, that he was *not* in contact *with Apostles* until his first Jerusalem visit. Acts, being concerned simply with showing the spread of the Faith, omits to mention the Arabia incident as not of import in its plan, for Paul had not preached or spread the Faith in "Arabia," but probably simply retired to solitude for his own spiritual development.

221. Second Jerusalem Visit.—Far greater is the divergence of scripturists' opinions about Paul's second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. Some say that the next two separate accounts, *B* (in Acts 11:30; 12:25) and *C* (in Acts 15:2–30), really refer to one and the same visit, which is

[1] Note that in the vision Christ says: "To the Gentiles afar I *shall* send you" (Acts 22:21). Paul is not presently to preach to Gentiles, but later, in His own good time, God shall call him for this task—as was done, Acts 13:2 *ss.*

also described as the "second visit" in Galatians 2:1–10. In fact, the majority of scripturists[2] hold that Gal. 2:1–10 refers to the Council at Jerusalem. Some say that St. Paul simply passed over a real second visit in Acts 11:30 as inconsequential, since then he met only "the presbyters" at Jerusalem, to whom he and Barnabas committed the Antiochian alms. But one may remark that Paul in Gal. 1:20 made oath to the exactness of his Galatian account of his Jerusalem visits. And, if he was particular enough to account for his absence from Damascus by stating he was in "Arabia," he surely would have had to explain clearly a subsequent visit to Jerusalem, which would naturally be expected to have brought him again into contact with the Apostles—the point he is arguing to minimize. And on the occasion of Acts 11:30, 12:25, besides the presbyters, at least James the Apostle was at Jerusalem (Acts 12:17).

The majority opinion seems motived by the following arguments: Gal. 2:1–10 refers to the Council at Jerusalem described in Acts 15:2–30. But Gal. 2:1–10 is designated there as the *second* visit of Paul to Jerusalem. Therefore, Paul's visit *B* of Acts 11:30, 12:25, must in fact be identical with his visit *C* in Acts 15:2–30—and there is consequently *no third visit* of this series.

Two questions, therefore, have to be considered: *Does Gal. 2:1–10 speak of the same visit as Acts 15:2–30?* Or, if not, *does Gal. 2:1–10 speak of the same visit as Acts 11:30, 12:25?* For convenience, in the following study Gal. 2:1–10 will be designated by the siglum *"G2"*; Acts 11:30, 12:25, by *"B"*; Acts 15:2–30, by *"C."*

It is granted that both *G2* and *C* have the following parallels: in both, Paul and Barnabas make a trip to Jerusalem and have a conference with Peter and James the Less. There is a partial parallel in this: in *G2* "false brethren" demand the circumcision of Titus; in *C* "certain ones of the Pharisees who were believers said it was necessary to circumcize them

[2] For this opinion are Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, III, xiii, 3; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, V, 2; Knabenbauer, Godet, Zahn, Reuss, Weiss, Holtzmann, Lightfoot, Hort, Sanday, Batiffol, Prat, Lagrange, Jacquier, etc.

(Gentile converts) and make them observe the Mosaic code." Also, in *G2* the Jerusalem authorities "superadded naught to me" (ἐμοὶ . . . οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο), whilst in *C* the Council's decree decides "not to lay any further burden upon you" (μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος)—where the English makes the phrases sound more alike than they are in the original.

222. Against Identifying *G2* with *C*.—Against the above-mentioned similarities must be weighed the following *divergencies:*

In *G2* (= Galatians)	In *C* (= Acts)
Paul "goes up (to Jerusalem) upon a revelation" (κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν), and lays before the authorities the evangel he was preaching to the Gentiles.	A violent discussion on the Judeo-Christian question having taken place at Antioch, "it was decided that Paul . . . should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and presbyters concerning that question."

In *G2* "a revelation" is assigned as the primary motive for Paul's making the trip—whether the revelation was made to Paul or another person, and what it was about, is not detailed. There is no mention of previous discussion. Paul indicates that, going up for this public reason for his trip, he himself took advantage of the occasion to check up privately with the central authorities the evangel he preached to the Gentiles. Now, as to the conference itself between Paul and Barnabas and the Jerusalem authorities.

In *G2*	In *C*
Paul confers privately (κατ' ἰδίαν), with "those who count for something." The result of this conference is that James, Peter, and John Zebedee recognize that Paul has the special office of evangelizing the Gentiles just as Peter has for the Jews, and they extend to Paul and his companions "the right hand of fellowship."	Paul tells "the church, and the Apostles and the presbyters what God had accomplished through" him. Thereupon, an objection being raised, a solemn assembly is called to settle the point. Paul and Barnabas recount "what great miracles and signs God had wrought through them amongst the Gentiles."

In *G2*	In *C*
Paul and Barnabas receive final injunction "to be mindful of the poor, which very thing," Paul adds, "I was careful to do."	Peter and James made speeches to the effect that the Mosaic ceremonial legislation was not to be made binding on Gentile converts. A delegation of Jerusalemites is chosen to go with Paul and Barnabas to carry the Apostolic Council's decree to Antioch. It is primarily to Judas, Barnabas and Silas that authorization is given, rather than to Paul and Barnabas.

223. Divergencies.—*C* is clearly a *public, solemn meeting* and discussion about whether the Mosaic ceremonial code is to be imposed on Gentile converts; *G2* is a *private interview* of Paul and Barnabas with Peter, James the Less and John Zebedee. St. Paul notes expressly that he submits his evangel *privately* (κατ' ἰδίαν, Vulgate *seorsum,* Douay "apart"). The expression used in the text is translated "privately," "apart," "aside," everywhere else in the New Testament (12 times, as in Acts 23:19; Luke 9:10; Mark 9:28; Matt. 17:19, 14:13, etc.). On the other hand, there is no indication of any private conference in *C:* Arrived at Jerusalem, they (= Paul and Barnabas) were welcomed by the church and by the Apostles and presbyters, and they recounted all that God had done with them. Then there rose up certain ones of the fanatics "to object." Evidently Paul's evangel was common knowledge to all on this occasion. Thereupon, "the Apostles and presbyters assembled to examine this matter" in public meeting. This point offers one of the most irreconcilable divergencies between *C* and *G2.*

Again, the point of the *G2* interview seems to be, *not* whether the Mosaic code should be imposed on convert Gentiles, but whether Paul had any right to preach to Gentiles at all. According to *G2,* evangelizing, or directly inviting the Gentiles to enter the Church,[3] was *still a debatable ques-*

[3] There had previously, according to Acts, been some Gentiles received into the Church. But they had not been so much drawn into it by any Apostle's preaching, as pushed into it through extraordinary

tion. In *G* the whole matter has reached a far more advanced stage. It is *assumed* in *C* that the Gentiles are to be evangelized; there is no question about that. But it is *debated* whether Gentile converts have to be circumcized and observe the Jewish *kosher* regulations in foods, etc. There seems to lie the chief irreconcilable divergence between *G2* and *C*. In *G2* the question is whether Paul has any Apostolic right at all to preach to the Gentiles; in *C* he is assumed to have this right, but his opponents wish to coerce his Gentile converts into becoming Jews.[4] Again, *C* is undeniably the account of a solemn public council; *G2,* on the other hand, seems to refer to a private consultation between Paul and Barnabas and the Jerusalem authorities. The *G2* visit to Jerusalem is occasioned by a "revelation"; there is no indication of any such factor operative in the *C* visit. Finally, the *G2* account closes with an injunction to collect alms amongst the Gentiles: no such matter is even mentioned in the *C* account, not even in the carefully prepared message at the close to be transmitted to Antioch.

From all this, one may conclude that there is at least room to doubt that the account of *G2* refers to and is the parallel of *C*—the Acts report of the Council at Jerusalem.

224. Identification of *G2* with *B*.—But, if *G2* does not refer to the trip made by St. Paul and Barnabas to the Jerusalem Council, does it refer to any Pauline Jerusalem trip recorded in Acts? Yes. There are three early Pauline visits to Jerusalem recorded in Acts, the third being that which eventuated in the Council. The *G2* visit is patently the second made by St. Paul. Therefore, one would naturally try to identify it with the second trip of Acts, or *B* (= Acts 11:30, 12:25).

supernatural interventions, as in the case of the Ethiopian treasurer and Cornelius. The first instance of direct appeal to Gentiles is Acts 11:20, where certain "Cyprians and Cyrenians who had come to Antioch spoke *also* to the Greeks (Ἕλληνας), preaching Jesus the Lord." Paul had indeed preached to Hellenist Jews, but not as yet to Gentiles, as a duly commissioned missionary and Apostle.

[4] Of course, this question already thrust up its head in *G2* concerning Titus, although it was not acute enough as yet to result in his circumcision. Titus may have been a "proselyte of the gate," and as such tolerable to the Jews.

The *B* trip account has these peculiarities: it tells how Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem, and how they returned —but nothing at all about what they said and did during their stay in the Holy City, aside from the assurance that they accomplished their official commission, which was to deliver the Antiochian alms. The two mere paragraphs noting their setting out for Jerusalem and their return therefrom are separated by practically a chapter of matter dealing with other stirring events at Jerusalem that seem to have occurred about that time—namely, Herod Agrippa's persecution, the death of James Zebedee, the imprisonment and miraculous liberation of Peter, and the death of Herod. One might conjecture that Luke knew St. Paul's account in *G2* covered the interior phase of that period, so omitted those details and gave, instead, a recital of the exterior vicissitudes of the Church at about the same time.

The *B* account of that stay of Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem is practically a blank—one is told they arrived and that they left, but not what they did whilst at Jerusalem. Therefore, there is nothing in the stay phase of *B* either to help or to hinder identifying it with *G2*. But, the antecedents to the trip and what happened upon the return, give some clues for identification.

In *G2*	In *B*
Fourteen years had elapsed either since Paul's conversion or since his first Jerusalem visit (three years after conversion).	Paul had been in "the districts of Syria and Cilicia," finally at Tarsus, since his first visit to Jerusalem. He was brought from Tarsus to Antioch by Barnabas in connection with the new movement of express evangelization of Gentiles. Paul was a year at Tarsus during this movement. Before that he does not seem to have preached about, at least not to Gentiles —as Luke would have noted any spread of the Faith thus accomplished by Paul.
Paul has preached some time to the Gentiles (probably during the Antioch year only).	

In *G2*	In *B*
Paul is moved to go to Jerusalem primarily "in conformity to a revelation."	Agabus, a prophet who had come with others from Jerusalem, revealed that there would come a famine. In consequence of this prophecy, the Antioch community gathers alms for their Jerusalem confrères. (This may have taken considerable time if the gathering was done by Sunday collections, as elsewhere.)
Paul had "already been solicitous to gather alms for Jerusalem poor" (Gal. 2:10).	
Paul and Barnabas, taking along Titus, go to Jerusalem.	In due time, Paul and Barnabas are sent to Jerusalem to deliver the Antioch offerings. They deliver these to the presbyters.

225. Harmonization.—For the stay at Jerusalem, *G2* indicates a private conference between Paul and Barnabas and the Jerusalem ecclesiastical leaders; *B* deals exclusively with external events (the Agrippan persecution). There is no comparison to be made between the two accounts. They are, however, quite compatible with each other. Some points of contact appear again in the return section.

In *G2*	In *B*
Paul and Barnabas reach an accord with James the Less, Peter, and John Zebedee. They are asked to continue being mindful of the poor (where there seems to be allusion to former offerings).	Paul and Barnabas return from Jerusalem bringing along John-Mark (who may have felt unsafe because of the persecution).
Peter appears at Antioch; gives in to Jewish prejudices; is reproved by Paul.	Peter "went unto another place" upon his liberation from prison. There is no indication of John-Mark's being home at his mother's house when Peter goes there first.
The legitimacy of Paul's evangelization had been recognized at the Jerusalem interview.	Paul and Barnabas are ordained (?) and sent out to the Gentiles as missionaries (Acts 13:1-3).
Paul evangelizes the Galatians. Deceived by Judeo-Christian fanatics, they soon departed from Paul's principles. He writes his Epistle to correct them.	After Cyprus, etc., they evangelize Southern Galatia (Acts 13:13 to 14:28).

The points of contact between *G2* and *B* may be summarized as follows: in both the primary cause of the journey is given as "a revelation"; in both, a long time has elapsed since Paul's former visit (14 or 17 years); previously to both, Paul had just started evangelizing Gentiles; in both, there is reference to alms for Jerusalem's poor.

It is frankly admitted that these positive points of contact are slender and slight. But, on the other hand, there are no conflicting divergencies.[5] Above all, with the earlier identification of *G2* with *C* rejected, by elimination *B* remains as the only Jerusalem visit recorded in Acts with which the second visit in Galatians can be associated.

226. Third Visit for Council.—In this hypothesis, then, the Jerusalem Council forms the third visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem, and the order of events is as follows: (1) Conversion of St. Paul; (2) three years later *First Visit* to Jerusalem (Acts 9:26–29; Gal. 1:18–23); (3) return, long stay at Tarsus; (4) year's stay at Antioch, beginning of Gentiles' evangelization there; (5) Agabus' prophecy of famine, collection of alms; (6) either 14 or 17 years after his conversion, Paul's *Second Visit* to Jerusalem[6] (Acts 11:30; 12:26; Gal. 2:1–10); (7) return of Paul and Barnabas with John-Mark to Antioch; (8) arrival of Peter at Antioch and Paul's upbraiding him (Gal. 2:11–14); (9) dedication of Paul and Barnabas to evangelization of Gentiles (Acts 13:1–3); (10) First Mission Journey, over Seleucia, Cyprus, back to Pergé (where John-Mark leaves the party for Jerusalem), to Pisidian Antioch, Iconium Lystra, Derbé,[7] etc., and back again to Pisidian Antioch, through Pisidia and Pamphylia, till, setting sail from Attalia, they returned by sea to Seleucia and Antioch; (11) coming of "false brethren" into Southern

[5] That Acts here does not mention Paul's meeting Apostles (only presbyters) at Jerusalem, is no indication that these were not there. James Zebedee and Peter are mentioned in the intercalated persecution account.

[6] Coinciding with the Claudius famine?

[7] These constitute the Galatian churches according to the South Galatian theory, being in the extensive official Roman province of that name —rather than Pessinus, Ancyra and other towns in the northern district of old Galatia proper.

Galatia communities, causing defection of these; (12) Paul writes Epistle to Galatians to counteract their misinformation; (13) at Antioch violent discussion of Judeo-Christian question, and decision to send Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem for settlement of difficulty; (14) leisurely trip through Phenicia and Samaria; (15) St. Paul's *Third Visit* to Jerusalem, and the Council there (Acts 15:2–30).

It will be noted that the hypothesis suggested to explain the early visits of St. Paul to Jerusalem necessarily brings in its train the Southern Galatia theory, although it does not exclude St. Paul's having gone into Northern Galatia or Galatia proper on a later mission journey.[8] It explains how Peter at Damascus was as yet unsettled on the Judeo-Christian question, and why Galatians makes no reference to the decree of the Jerusalem Council, for the latter had not yet taken place.

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

De Auctore, de Tempore Compositionis, et de Historica Veritate libri Actuum Apostolorum

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum perspecta potissimum Ecclesiæ universæ traditione usque ad primævos ecclesiasticos scriptores assurgente, attentisque internis rationibus libri Actuum sive in se sive in sua ad tertium Evangelium relatione considerati et præsertim mutua utriusque prologi affinitate et connexione (Luc. 1:1-4; Act. 1:1-2), uti certum tenendum sit volumen quod titulo Actus Apostolorum seu Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων præmotatur, Lucam evangelistam habere auctorem? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum criticis rationibus, desumptis tum ex lingua et stylo, tum ex enarrandi modo, tum ex unitate scopi et doctrinæ, demonstrari possit librum Actuum Apostolorum uni dumtaxat auctori tribui debere; ac proinde eam recentiorum scriptorum sententiam quæ tenet Lucam non esse libri auctorem unicum, sed

[8] See article on Galatians for discussion of these two theories.

diversos esse agnoscendos eiusdem libri auctores, quovis fundamento esse destitutam? *Resp.* Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III.—Utrum in specie pericopæ in Actis conspicuæ, in quibus, abrupto usu tertiæ personæ, inducitur prima pluralis (*Wirstücke*), unitatem compositionis et authenticitatem infirment; vel potius historice et philologice consideratæ eam confirmare dicendæ sunt? *Resp.* Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

IV.—Utrum ex eo quod liber ipse, vix mentione facta bienii primæ romanæ Pauli captivitatis, abrupte clauditur, inferri liceat auctorem volumen alterum deperditum conscripsisse, aut conscribere intendisse, ac proinde tempus compositionis libri Actuum longe possit post eamdem captivitatem differri; vel potius iure et merito retinendum sit Lucam sub fine primæ captivitatis romanæ Apostoli Pauli librum absolvisse? *Resp.* Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

V.—Utrum, si simul considerentur tum frequens ac facile commercium quod procul dubio habuit Lucas cum primis et præcipuis Ecclesiæ Palæstiniensis fundatoribus necnon cum Paulo gentium Apostolo, cuius et in evangelica prædicatione adiutor et in itineribus comes fuit; tum solita eius industria et diligentia in exquirendis testibus rebusque suis oculis observandis; tum denique plerumque evidens et mirabilis consensus libri Actuum cum ipsis Pauli epistolis et cum sincerioribus historiæ monumentis; certo teneri debeat Lucam fontes omni fide dignos præ manibus habuisse eosque accurate, probe et fideliter adhibuisse, adeo ut plenam auctoritatem sibi iure vindicet? *Resp.* Affirmative.

VI.—Utrum difficultates quæ passim obiici solent, tum ex factis supernaturalibus a Luca narratis; tum ex relatione quorumdam sermonum, qui, cum sint compendiose traditi, censentur conficti et circumstantiis adaptati; tum ex nonnullis locis ab historia sive profana sive biblica apparenter saltem dissentientibus; tum demum ex narrationibus quibusdam, quæ sive cum ipso Actuum auctore sive cum aliis auctoribus sacris pugnare videntur; tales sint ut auctoritatem Actuum historicam in dubium revocare vel saltem aliquo modo minuere possint? *Resp.* Negative.

This decree was issued June 12, 1913. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis,* vol. V (1913), p. 291.

FIFTH PART

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

Sicut inter scripturas Veteris Testamenti maxime frequentantur in ecclesia Psalmi David, qui post peccatum veniam obtinuit, ita in Novo Testamento frequentantur Epistolæ Pauli, qui misericordiam consecutus est, ut ex hoc peccatores ad spem erigantur.

St. Thomas Aquinas, in Prolog.

Paul est le docteur des docteurs, et pendant des longs siècles le monde chrétien a pensé par lui. C'est un fait notoire que la théologie d'Augustin, et par Augustin celle de saint Thomas, et par saint Thomas toute la scolatisque, derivent en droite ligne de la doctrine de Paul.

Prat, La Théologie de St. Paul, p. 17.

FIFTH PART

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

PROLEGOMENON

227. That in St. Paul's Epistles there are, as St. Peter of old already warned, "certain things hard to understand" (II Pet. 3:16), especially for modern readers, is due partly indeed to the profundity of some of the matters treated, but perhaps even more to the casual reader's ignorance of the circumstances, plan, and purpose of these letters, as well as to the awkward rendition in ordinary versions of the Apostle's really untranslatable style. Comment on some of these points may counteract the fear-complex which many experience when their Bible is opened at the Epistles of St. Paul.

Just because the surviving writings of St. Paul are *Epistles* (that is to say, not narratives or histories like the Gospels and Acts, but letters written chiefly to early Christian congregations for specific purposes connected with the religious life of those communities), and because at the same time these letters were generally occasioned or influenced by happenings in the Apostle's own vicissitudinous life, therefore he who would probe the profound lessons of the Pauline writings must first of all be familiar with the life, activities, and characteristics of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Fortunately this requisite is easily attained. For, besides the numerous autobiographical notices contained in the Epistles themselves, the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles is in its greater part but an account of St. Paul's missionary travels and preachings, written by one who was the Apostle's intimate companion through many years.

The following is the list of titles of the Pauline writings: Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians,

Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, II Thessalonians, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews. This is the order in which they stand at present in the Canon, but the arrangement is neither chronological nor strictly according to subject matter. Older lists have variations. For those who prefer to study the Pauline Epistles in their chronologic order of composition (which in the case of some can be only conjecturally established), the following order is suggested: Galatians, I and II Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, Romans; then the First Captivity group, consisting of Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, Philippians; then the Pastorals, Titus, I and II Timothy; and lastly the unplaceable Hebrews.

228. Of the theological content and purpose of the Pauline Epistles no better synthetic summary can be adduced than that given by St. Thomas in the prologue of his commentary on these Epistles:

Est enim doctrina hæc (= epistolarum Sancti Pauli) *tota de gratia Christi*—quæ quidem potest tripliciter considerari. Uno modo secundum quod est *in ipso capite,* scil. Christo; et sic commendatur in epistola *ad Hebræos.* Alio modo secundum quod est *in membris principalibus* corporis mystici; et sic commendatur *in epistolis ad prælatos.* Tertio modo secundum quod est *in ipso corpore mystico,* quod est ecclesia; et sic commendatur *in epistolis* quæ mittuntur *ad gentiles*—quarum hæc est distinctio.

Nam ipsa gratia Christi tripliciter potest considerari. Uno modo *secundum se;* et sic commendatur in epistola *ad Romanos.* Alio modo secundum quod est *in sacramentis* gratiæ, et sic commendatur in duabus epistolis *ad Corinthios*—in quarum *prima* agitur de ipsis sacramentis; in *secunda,* de dignitate ministrorum. Et in epistola *ad Galatas,* in qua excluduntur superflua sacramenta, contra illos qui volebant vetera sacramenta novis adiungere.

Tertio consideratur gratia Christi *secundum affectum unitatis* quem in ecclesia fecit. Agit ergo Apostolus primo quidem de *institutione* ecclesiasticæ unitatis in epistola *ad Ephesios.* Secundo *de eius confirmatione et profectu,* in epistola *ad Philippenses.* Tertio *de eius defensione,* contra errores quidem in epistola *ad Colossenses;* contra persecutiones vero præsentes in *prima ad Thessalonicenses;* contra futuras vero et præcipue tempore Antichristi, in *secunda ad Thessalonicenses.*

Prælatos vero ecclesiarum instruit et spirituales et temporales. Spirituales quidem de institutione, instructione et gubernatione ecclesiasticæ unitatis in *prima ad Timotheum;* de firmitate contra persecutores in *secunda ad Timotheum.* Tertio, de defensione contra

hæreticos, in epistola *ad Titum.* Dominos vero temporales instruxit in epistola *ad Philemonem.* Et sic patet ratio distinctionis et ordinis omnium epistolarum.

Art. 1: OUTLINES OF ST. PAUL'S LIFE

229. Origin and Name.—The future Apostle of the Gentiles was born about the beginning of the Christian era, not in Jewry's homeland, Palestine, but in the *diaspora,* at Tarsus in Cilicia. He was thus a Roman citizen by birth (Acts 22:28), and hence also comes his having a double name, "Saul" as a Jew and "Paul" as a Roman—as was the case with John-Mark (Acts 12:25) and Jesus-Justus (Col 4:11). The first of each of these double names was probably the one used by Aramaic-speaking Jews; the second, by the Hellenistic Jews and the Gentiles.

The name "Paul" does not seem to have to be connected with the conversion of the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, by the Apostles (Acts 13:7 *ss.*). Luke uses both names in Acts, but "Saul" rather for the period when the Apostle was chiefly active in Palestine or Jewish communities of the *diaspora,* according as it is written: "To you (Jews) it behooved us first to speak the Word of God" (Acts 13:46). The name "Paul," however, is used after Acts 13:9, "because" thereupon, as the Apostle himself expressed it, "you Jews reject the Word of God . . . behold, we turn to the Gentiles" (Acts 13:46). Thenceforth, Paul occupies the main position in the Lukan narrative, as having entered upon his life-work, the conversion of the Gentiles.

St. Paul's parents were of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. 11:1). In this connection, the Fathers recall the obscure prophecy of Jacob in regard to his son Benjamin (Gen. 49:27):

> A robbing wolf is Benjamin;
> in the morning seizing his prey,
> at the eve dividing spoils.

This is interpreted of the greatest Benjaminite, Paul, who, starting out in youth to rend and tear the Church with wolf-like fierceness, finished in his old age by handing over to her the spoils of his evangelization of the Gentiles.

230. Hebrew Education.—Despite their dwelling in the Dispersion, St. Paul's parents clung to the strict tenets of the dominating Pharisaic group (Acts 23:6). Hence, Paul's having been brought up in a foreign country scarcely seems to have at first given him broadmindedness. A Hellenist Paul was not, but rather "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil. 3:5). This was probably the consequence of his having been sent early to the Jerusalem schools, where he "sat at the feet of Gamaliel" (Acts 22:3), the honored "doctor of the Law" who gave the Sanhedrin the sage counsel of Acts 5:34–37 in regard to letting the Apostles alone.

Paul was present, probably as a young man, at the stoning of Stephen, of whose death he shared the guilt (Acts 7:57). He next appears as a fierce persecutor of the Christians, "ravaging the Church, entering into homes and dragging forth both men and women, to cast them into prison" (Acts 8:3). With sorrow he later recalls this terrible period of his life, when he "persecuted the Church of God" (I Cor. 15:9) "beyond measure" (Gal. 1:13), as a "blasphemer, persecutor, and oppressor." In this activity he was, however, sincere, doing it "out of ignorance," as he confesses (I Tim. 1:13). So far did his fanatical zeal carry him that he even sought and obtained from the high-priest authorization to go to Damascus to drag thence in chains to Jerusalem any Christians he might apprehend in the synagogues (Acts 9:1–2).

231. Conversion.—It was on the way to carry out this nefarious intent that Paul was suddenly, through a miraculous blindness, brought to see the light of truth (Acts 9:3–17, 22:6–16, 26:13–18). By God's grace, there was brought about in his basically generous, sincere, though violent, character, a complete reversal of his mind and heart towards Christianity. As he himself wrote later: "The grace of God flooded me so abundantly that I believed in Christ and loved Him" (I Tim. 1:14), crying out docilely: "Lord, what wilt

Thou have me to do?" (Acts 22:10). Being led into Damascus, he was there baptized by a certain Ananias. The date of Paul's conversion is about 33–34.

232. First Jerusalem Visit.—Thereupon Paul retires for an indeterminate period into the desert—"Arabia," possibly near Damascus (Gal. 1:17). He returned later to preach in Damascus, whence he was obliged to flee about three years after his conversion (Gal. 1:18; Acts 9:23–25). After that he went to Jerusalem, and there conferred with Peter and James the Less (about 36). In a vision of Jesus in the Temple, however, he is told: "Hasten and leave Jerusalem quickly, for they will not receive your testimony concerning Me" (Acts 22:18 *ss.*). And in fact, when Paul, during his fortnight's stay at Jerusalem, disputed with his compatriots, the Hellenist Jews,[1] they sought his life (Acts 9:29). Hence "the brethren . . . brought him to Cæsarea and sent him to Tarsus" (Acts 9:30), his native town.

233. Second Trip to Jerusalem.—Nothing is known of Paul's stay at Tarsus. Had Paul professedly evangelized during this time, St. Luke would have noted it as fitting in with his plan of tracing the gradual spread of the Church. Barnabas eventually brings Paul from there to Antioch (Acts 11:25), where those two remain about a year together. Meanwhile certain Cyprians begin preaching to Gentiles—the first time it has been done. A famine having been prophesied by Agapus, the Antioch community gathers funds against the eventuality, and sends them to Jerusalem by Paul and Barnabas. Titus also is in the party, and there is trouble at Jerusalem about his not being circumcized. Paul takes advantage of the occasion to consult with Peter,[2] James the Less, and John Zebedee about the legitimacy of evangelizing the Gen-

[1] The word "Greeks" as used in the English translations of Acts, is at times misleading, as it may stand for either Ἕλληνες (real Greeks, or other non-Jews or Gentiles generally, Acts 16:3; John 7:35; Acts 21:28), or Ἑλληνισταί, ("Hellenists," Jews who spoke Greek, as distinguished from those of Palestine whose tongue was Aramaic).

[2] Peter, who had been imprisoned about 42 by Herod Agrippa I, upon his miraculous liberation had left for Rome with John-Mark. They had returned to Jerusalem after Herod's death in 44.

tiles (Gal. 2:1–10). His position is approved at this private conference. He and Barnabas return to Antioch, taking along John-Mark.

Shortly after, when Peter comes to Antioch, Paul upbraids him for giving in to Judeo-Christian prejudices (Gal. 2:11–14). Barnabas and Paul set out on the First Mission Journey.

234. Dedication to Gentile Missions.—Their itinerary is straightway by land from Antioch to Seleucia, the nearest port; thence by sea to the Island of Cyprus, which they go through from Salamis to Paphos, at which latter place the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, is converted despite the objections of Elymas "the Magician" (= Arabic *ulema,* "wise man"?). From Paphos they set sail for the mainland of Asia Minor, landing at Pergé in Pamphylia. John-Mark left the party here to go back to Jerusalem(?).

From Pergé, Paul and Barnabas set out on their *"Southern Galatia" mission.* They went first to Pisidian Antioch, but were expelled by malignant Jews who prejudiced influential women against them (Acts 13:50); thence to Iconium, from which (being threatened with stoning) they fled to the Lycaonian towns of Lystra and Derbé and the hinterland. At Lystra, Paul and Barnabas were first taken for gods; then Paul was stoned. Derbé is the limit of their journey southeast. From that town Paul and Barnabas retrace their steps through Lystra and Iconium to Pisidian Antioch, "having made numerous disciples" (Acts 14:21). Thence again they went over their upward route, through Pisidia and Pamphylia to Pergé. From Attalia (in Lycia near Pergé) they took ship for Syrian Antioch, there completing the round of the First Mission Journey.

On this trip in Southern Galatia,[3] Paul had been violently opposed by the Jews of the localities he visited. The Gentiles made trouble only when stirred up by such Jews. At Iconium,

[3] The towns of Iconium, Lystra and Derbé, were not in the old, native (and properly so-called) Galatian district, which lay north-east and contained Ancyra, Tavium and Pessinus. But they were within the limits of the Roman Province of Galatia, which had been extended southwards by embracing parts of Lycaonia, Pisidia and Phrygia. See Article on Galatians.

these latter brought about a complete reversal of public opinion from reverence to hatred.

235. Stay at Antioch.—Back in his headquarters at Antioch, Paul remained apparently at rest and peace "quite a while" (Acts 14:28). Meanwhile, some Judeo-Christians came down from Jerusalem, teaching that "unless you be circumcized according to the Mosaic code, you cannot be saved" (Acts 15:1). Some of these probably went on into Asia Minor and the districts which had shortly before been evangelized by St. Paul, persuading the recently converted Southern Galatians that they had to be circumcized and to conform to the Law of Moses. The fickle Galatians did conform to these "pseudo-brethren," who apparently told them that Paul was no genuine Apostle. When the news of the Galatians' defection reached Paul, he indited to them a letter in heated haste—the first of his Epistles, *Galatians* (about 48–49).

Meanwhile, the same discussion waxed hot and heavy at Antioch, so that finally the Antiochian community decided to send Paul and Barnabas as a committee to Jerusalem to have the question settled.

236. Third Visit to Jerusalem: The Council.—The trip is apparently made in a leisurely fashion by the outside route through Phenicia and Samaria, with stops at the various Christian communities, to whom Paul and Barnabas bring the news of the Gentiles' conversion.

The party is welcomed at Jerusalem. Then the Judeo-Christian question is discussed. A formal Council of the Church is called (A.D. 50–51), and a decree is issued that the Mosaic Code is not to be imposed on the Gentile converts, although these, as a temporary disciplinary measure, are to be asked to conform to the minor standard of "proselytes of the gate," so that social communication between them and the Judeo-Christians may be facilitated. A delegation from Jerusalem accompanies Paul and Barnabas back to Antioch, where the Apostolic decree is promulgated.

237. Second Missionary Journey.—After a brief period of preaching at Antioch, Paul suggests to Barnabas that they

revisit the scenes of their earlier labors. They differ on the point of taking along John-Mark (Acts 15:36–41). Barnabas and John-Mark (his cousin) take ship for Cyprus. But Paul, taking along Silas (who had been one of the delegation sent from Jerusalem with the Apostolic decree), went by land, quickly passing through Syria and Cilicia, till he came once more (this time from the east) to Derbé and Lystra and Iconium, the "Southern Galatia" churches. There he ordains Timothy as a coadjutor, and communicates the Apostolic decree.

238. Northern Galatia Mission?—Paul had now fulfilled his original plan for this trip, namely, to revisit the churches he had founded on his first journey. His love for Christ seeks new fields. So he and Timothy "passed through Phrygia and the Galatian district" (*Διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, Acts 16:6).

This is the text whose interpretation is so much disputed. Does it mean that on this trip Paul went into old Galatia proper? It is possible, for the indications of the route are vague. Later on (Acts 18:23), St. Paul is again found "going successively through the Galatian district and Phrygia, confirming all the disciples" (*διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν . . .*).

It seems that, having revisited his former missions, St. Paul wished to continue straight west into the Province of Asia through Lydia, to Ephesus and the large southwestern seaboard cities. But, being forbidden this course by the Holy Spirit, Paul and Timothy go about in the Phrygian and Galatian district in which they are already, working northwest therein till they come along the western boundary of Mysia.[4] Here they wanted to continue north-northwest into Bithynia, but again are supernaturally forbidden. So they turn directly west, going through Mysia to the port of Troas. Thus, they have been brought close to the Hellespont and Europe.

[4] Had they been bound for old Galatia proper, they would have been going northeast, and would not have come near, but gone away from the Mysian boundary.

239. Paul Enters Europe.—Having been invited to Macedonia in a vision, Paul (and Timothy) and Luke[5] sail for Neapolis, the port of Philippi in Macedonia. At Philippi, Thessalonica and Berea, Paul founded flourishing churches despite persecutions. Going to Athens, he gave the well-known discourse on the Areopagus, but had little success there: his success was still less in vicious Corinth, where that pious Judeo-Christian couple, Priscilla and Aquila, assisted him. There also, he *wrote his two Epistles to the Thessalonians* (about 52). After staying about a year and a half at Corinth, Paul went thence via Ephesus to Cæsarea in Palestine, from where he traveled up to Jerusalem, "greeted the church" there, and returned to Antioch—thus completing the round of the Second Mission Journey.

240. Third Mission Journey.—Paul did not rest long at Antioch. Soon he set out again, first of all to revisit "in order" the churches of "the Galatian district and Phrygia" so as to confirm the disciples. Then, instead of turning north as before, he goes straight west by the "highland route" (Acts 19:1) to Ephesus, the great seaport of Asia Minor.

Paul stays at Ephesus almost three years (55–57). Towards the close of this period he *wrote I Corinthians.* The silversmith Demetrius raising a tumult against him, Paul left, and went first to Troas (II Cor. 16:8), where he was disappointed at not meeting Titus, the messenger whom he had sent to investigate the troubles at Corinth. So he sailed for Macedonia, where he *wrote II Corinthians,* about 57, and evangelized thereabouts "even as far as Illyria" (Romans 15:19). Thence he passed into Greece, probably wintering at Corinth (Acts 20:3), where he *wrote Romans* (about 58).

Instead of sailing right from the eastern Corinth port of Cenchreæ for Palestine, Paul first went overland into Macedonia again. After Easter, he embarked from Philippi to sail to Troas, where the whole party met and stayed a week (Acts 20:6 *ss.*). Thence Paul proceeded by stages, both overland and by sea, south to Miletus. The leaders of the Ephe-

[5] Luke seems to have joined Paul at Troas (Acts 16:10).

sian community were called to that town and Paul made a touching farewell, being in haste to reach Jerusalem in time for Pentecost.

Sailing from Miletus, Paul landed at Tyre, where he stayed a week. By way of Ptolemais and Cæsarea, he finally reached Jerusalem, although he had been forewarned by Agapus that imprisonment awaited him there (Acts 21:10-14). This closes the Third Mission Journey.

241. Arrest at Jerusalem.—Now begins Paul's passion. Visiting the Temple to fulfill a vow, he is set upon by a mob of fanatic Jews, from whose rage he is saved only by the prompt intervention of Lysias, the commander of the Roman cohort watching the Temple. Next day Paul is arraigned before the Sanhedrin, assembled by the Tribune's orders. Paul having adroitly set his enemies against each other, Pharisees against Sadducees, such a tumult ensues that Lysias, not grasping what it is all about since he does not understand Aramaic, hurries Paul to the cohort's barracks for safety. As even there he is in danger, Paul is spirited off by night under heavy guard to the Procurator's headquarters at Cæsarea.

242. Imprisonment at Cæsarea.—At Cæsarea, Felix the Procurator held Paul in easy custody for two years, expecting to be bribed to release him. The successor of Felix, Festus, wishing to gain the good-will of the Jews, shortly after assuming office brought Paul to trial. Not finding Paul culpable, nevertheless wishing to ingratiate himself with the Jerusalem Jews, Festus offered Paul a chance to be tried in that city. Paul, fearing assassination if he left Cæsarea for Jerusalem, appealed to the Emperor's supreme court, so that he might continue to have the protection of Roman justice.

243. Trip as Prisoner to Rome.—With a number of other prisoners and with Aristarchus and Luke as companions (probably in the rôle of slaves), Paul, in charge of a Roman officer and guard, was placed on board a ship at Cæsarea. With a stop at Sidon, the party transshipped at Mysa. Then came the weeks of adverse winds and storm so graphically described in the last two chapters of Acts. Driven far out

of their course, they were wrecked on the island of Malta. Thence the journey was resumed in the spring. Finally, still a prisoner, Paul arrived at Rome.

244. Paul at Rome First Time.—Paul's case had to await its turn on the crowded docket. So for two years he stayed under guard, yet at his own lodgings. He took advantage of this delay to try to convert the Jews at Rome, where, of course, there was already a flourishing Christian community founded by St. Peter on his first visit. The account of Acts closes here. Whilst thus awaiting trial, Paul *wrote the Epistles to Philemon, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians.*

245. Closing Years.—Part of the rest of Paul's life and activities is but fragmentarily establishable. He was evidently acquitted at the Roman trial, and then may have made his long-projected trip to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28).[6] About 64, he seems to have gone to Ephesus, where he installed Timothy as Bishop; then back into Macedonia where he probably *wrote I Timothy.* He again visited Ephesus, and then Crete, where he installed Titus as Bishop. The *Epistle to Titus* may have been written at Corinth. A winter (Tit. 3:12) is spent by him at Nicopolis in Epirus. Perhaps the composition of *Hebrews* belongs here. Again he is back at Rome where, in his final captivity, he *wrote II Timothy.* He crowned a toilful, active, missionary life with a martyr's death in or after the first Neronian persecution, being beheaded at Rome on June 29 of either 64 or 67.

As he lived, so also St. Paul wrote—vigorously, even vehemently. Yet, his strength of purpose and accuracy of thought were ever combined with tenderness of sympathy and affection, according to his own declaration of the principle of his life: "The love of Christ urges us on" (II Cor. 5:14).

[6] For Paul's trip to Spain see Clement of Rome, *I Corinth.*, V; St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Dracont.*, IV; St. Chrysostom, *Homil. in Matt.*, LXXXV, 2, and *In II Tim.*, X, 3; St. Epiphanius, *Hær.*, XXVII, 6, etc.

Art. 2: LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF ST. PAUL

246. Unliterary Greek.—The vocabulary of St. Paul is simply that of the *koiné* Greek of his contemporaries, permeated throughout with the phraseology of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The classical usage of the rhetorical schools is seldom sought after. That St. Paul, observant strict Pharisee as he was, ever made a study of any Greek writer, is highly improbable. The three citations from Greek poets[1] are no proof to the contrary. For the quotations given are practically proverbial sayings that might easily be heard from the mouths of many. The numerous Hebraisms which earlier scripturists or rather classicists so critically sought and found in the Pauline writings, have, since Deissmann, turned out to be but unclassical expressions for the most part, for which parallels are to be found in the papyri and other examples of the *koiné* or unliterary Greek.

247. Intricacy of Style.—But, while St. Paul's vocabulary differs little from that of his contemporaries, his style is all his own. It is the Apostle's creation. Language bends, writhes, and breaks down under the weight of his thoughts. The sand barriers of rhetoric, and even of grammar, are of no avail to stem the rushing, white-hot torrents of passionate pleading, praying, denunciation and argumentation which seethe irresistibly from the incandescent furnace of Paul's mind and heart. Once a sentence is started, it rolls on, gathering words, phrases, clauses about its original nucleus, piling up ellipses, interjections, and digressions until it has become a veritable labyrinth of ideas, to follow whose intricate windings both memory and attention must cling tenaciously to the guiding yarn of the main theme previously announced. For

[1] The first of these: "For we also are His offspring" (Acts 17: 28), is from the *Phenomena* (II, 429) of Aratus, a Cilician poet, perhaps of Tarsus itself, and hence a countryman of Paul's. The second: "Bad company spoils good manners" (I Cor. 15: 33), is apparently from Menander's *Thaïs*, but, as indeed a proverbial saying, it was common property. The third: "Cretans are ever liars, worthless beasts, lazy bellies!" (Tit. 1: 12), would seem to have been a common saying when Cretans were the topic. It is found in the *Oracles* of Epimenides and in the *Hymn to Jupiter* by Callimachus.

St. Paul always retains his mastery over the thoughts so recklessly poured forth. He will bear in mind and revert to the chief, original idea, even after he has interposed half a dozen subordinate thoughts which suggested themselves to him and were swept up into the vortex of his rushing mind. The difficulty with St. Paul's style is that men are human and not angels; that, unfortunately, for earthly intellects thoughts must succeed each other in time and be set down on paper in single file, instead of being projected directly from mind to mind in whole broad-fronted phalanxes.

A random example of typical Pauline style may be taken from Eph. 3:1–12, where the main idea is that Paul is indeed the Apostle of the Gentiles:

"For this reason am I, Paul, a prisoner for Christ's sake, [set up] for you Gentiles. Indeed, you have heard of the Divine disposition through which the office of grace towards you was committed to me. For, in a revelation was the mystery made known to me—*which I have just briefly described, so that you my readers may understand how I come to have this insight into the mystery of Christ (which in earlier ages was not so clearly known to men as it is now through the Spirit of His holy Apostles and prophets)*—that the Gentiles through the receiving of the gospel are to be coheirs, incorporated with and sharing in the benefits promised in Christ Jesus—whose minister I have become through God's gracious favor granted me in a manner according with His power. Yes, to me, the least one of all those sanctified, was given this grace: to announce to the Gentiles the inexhaustible riches of Christ and to enlighten all men as to how fellowship may be acquired in this mystery—*which from eternity was hidden in God who created all things, in order that now through the Church the manifold wisdom of God may be made known to the princes and powers in all quarters under heaven*—founded upon a decree from eternity, now brought to realization in Christ Jesus our Lord."

A reader must accustom himself to this strange language, to this marvelous intertwining of thoughts into most intricate patterns of dialectics. Frequently, St. Paul runs a word

through the whole gamut of its acceptations, so as to flash forth every facet of his idea. The reader must endeavor to be as broad-visioned and versatile as St. Paul in order to span with him his ellipses and follow the continual onward flow of the full stream of his reasoning without being delayed overlong in the side eddies of his digressions.

St. Paul's writings exemplify very early reaction of the human mind to the body of supernatural truth revealed to men by Christ. Their vigor and very exuberance testify to the stimulus which Christianity gave to thought and action, theological speculation and application. The Pauline writings are a handbook, not only for theologians, but for all those who are called to follow in the missionary and pastoral footsteps of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that they may be indeed imitators of him (I Cor. 11:1), as he was of Christ.

Art. 3: THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN CONTROVERSY

248. The Pauline "Gospel."—The Pauline writings must be read with their background of contemporary religious and secular history borne in mind. At the time of their composition, the seed sown by Christ, the Founder of the Church (the Kingdom of God), was beginning to sprout. "The blade" (Mark 4:28) had begun to appear above the ground of Judaism, and with its growth there came to notice also the cockle (Matt. 13:38) of heretics and breeders of dissensions. Above all, to use St. Paul's own scriptural phraseology (Gal. 4:29), "he who was born according to the flesh" (Ishmael, Agar's son, typifying the children of the synagogue) "persecuted him that was after the Spirit" (Isaac, Sarah's son, typifying the children of the Church). Therefore, at this time also was the olden decree to be fulfilled in its figurative sense: "Cast out the bondwoman and her son. For the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman" (Gal. 4:30 and Gen. 21:10).

The Synagogue, the earlier, school-like, temporary, yet Divine organization of those who were "born of the will of the flesh" (John 1:13), tried to impose its own narrow,

carnal principles and practices, and especially the Pharisaic degradation of the Mosaic Law, upon the Church—God's new universal organization of those who were "born, not of blood, . . . but of God"—the "children of the Promise" (Gal. 4:28). This was not to be. And St. Paul, himself "a Pharisee, the son of Pharisees" (Acts 23:6), who had formerly "persecuted the Church of God" (Gal. 1:13), was the paradoxical instrument chosen by God to bring about the separation and liberation of the Church from the synagogue.

This may be called the outstanding feature and function of St. Paul's lifework. Indeed, what he refers to as "my gospel" (Gal. 2:2; Rom. 2:16) might be St. Paul's position and teaching in regard to the non-imposition upon the Gentile converts of the Jewish ritual observances. Hence, so many pages of the Pauline writings are taken up with discussions of the relationship of the Mosaic Law to the Christian Code. Again and again is St. Paul obliged by the agitations and controversies of his times to demonstrate that the ancient Mosaic system "was set because of transgressions" temporarily, "until the Seed should come" (Gal. 3:19); that "the law was our pedagogue"—that is, the initial, transitory, school-like phase of God's economy with fallen mankind; "but after the Faith is come we are no longer under a pedagogue. For, you are the children of God by Faith. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free. . . . For, you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:26–28).

249. Works of the Law.—Hence the Apostle contends that the specific "works of the Law" (such as circumcision, *kosher* foods, purifications, etc.), which certain Judeo-Christians wished to impose on Gentile members of the Church, are not required for eternal salvation. "For, we account a man to be justified by Faith, without the works (= practices) of the (Mosaic) Law"[1] (Rom. 3:28). It is St. Paul's unpleasant

[1] It is well to note here that, in the Pauline writings, the term "works" very frequently is the short technical designation for the specific Mosaic observances mentioned above, and is not the equivalent of "good works" in the modern Christian acceptation. Not recognizing this, Lutherans and others have fallen into many an error in interpreting St. Paul.

task ever to have to demonstrate against the Pharisaic-minded Jews, who formed so large a proportion of the young Church and earnestly strove to Judaize it in conformity with their chauvinistic nationalism, that Christ came indeed "not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, . . . but to fulfill" them (Matt. 5:17), by expanding into fair flower the bud of their basic principles of perfection. "Do we, then," he exclaims, "destroy the Law through Faith? God forbid! but we make the Law to stand" (Rom. 3:31). This was St. Paul's perennial contention, as it had been his Master's before him. And, in upholding it, he stands out as the most prominent figure at the first great turning-point of the Church's history.

250. Paul Spokesman for Catholicity.—Though not the leader or head of the Church ("I am the least of the Apostles, who am not worthy to be called an Apostle," Rom. 15:9), he is nevertheless a powerful spokesman in the Church to point out the right road and encourage the leaders to follow it in the face of much clamorous opposition. On a critical occasion, he upbraided Peter "to his face" (Gal. 2:11 *ss.*), when the latter would have compromised a bit on this principle for the sake of peace with some easily offended Judeo-Christians. Truly, it is above all due to St. Paul that the Church successfully weathered this first terrific storm of dissension, which threatened at the very outset to atrophy the destined world-wide Kingdom of God and subordinate its aims to a tiny dissident Jewish sect. St. Paul rose above his innate nationalism and boldly maintained the Church's catholicity, thus throwing wide open its doors to all the Gentiles, barbarian and Greek, bond and free, asserting their common need of and right to sonship of God by incorporation in Christ's mystical Body.

To the modern mind, the Judeo-Christian controversy—dead issue that it is—may seem to occupy an inordinately large space in early Christian history. But this only confirms the experience of historians that each age is occupied exclusively with its own questions, no matter if they be trivial —which the Judeo-Christian controversy emphatically was not. But is there no practical value for the present day in

this antique discussion? Yes, much. For, first of all, St. Paul brought out clearly that great attribute of the Church which has been the chief point of attack against it in all subsequent ages—namely, its supranationality, according to which it is never to be identified with any particular race or people nor to be dominated by any state. And, whilst upholding his side of the controversy, the Apostle had opportunity to search into and explain basic principles of the Divine world-economy. He established the universality of the redemptive work, and he delved deep into the mystery of "grace," the mode and means of that supernaturalization by which man participates in the very life of the Divinity (II Pet. 1:4). The results of St. Paul's argumentations have become basic principles of theology.

251. Pauline Theology.—Whilst the Judeo-Christian question occupies the forefront in many of the Pauline writings, nevertheless many other matters are discussed therein. The early Christian converts very soon began to inquire into and study the principles taught them by the Apostles, thus increasing, evolving and perfecting their understanding of Christian doctrine. Questions of dogmatic or moral import arose, and were eventually referred to the Apostles for clarification. Or divers opinions on secondary matters were upheld by differing persons or groups within the Church, and, the dispute waxing hot amongst those keen Greek minds with their fluent tongues, St. Paul was invoked to settle the controversy. Thus, in his first letter to the Corinthians, the Apostle discusses such varying topics as the *charismata,* the covering of women's heads in church, and the resurrection from the dead—all apparently topics of dispute in the Corinthian congregation.

But it would not be correct to say that the Pauline writings develop a systematic theology. They contain abundant theological matter, it is true, which has been drawn upon as an inexhaustible source by succeeding theologians. But the Epistles themselves, being largely the product of occasional demand, show little systematic development of a coördinated body of doctrine, although they abound in accurate and pro-

found reasoning. Thus, many fundamental points which would fill whole tracts in a professor's theology, are assumed and passed over with hardly an explicit mention; whilst on the other hand certain topics, which to minds of the present day are of quite secondary import, receive disproportionately broad treatment. Thus, the Trinity and the Incarnation are mysteries but mentioned, whilst *glossolalia*, the *parousia*, and the manner of the resurrection of the dead occupy whole chapters. Most of all, perhaps, the Apostle is engaged in giving practical directions and exhortations to virtuous living. Thus, the Pauline Epistles are not primarily learned treatises —although the Apostle could and would, when occasion demanded, develop a doctrine clearly and forcibly from the abundance of his inspired knowledge—but rather practical instructions, explanations, exhortations on divers religious matters which happened to be of interest or importance to his addressees.

252. Subjective Element.—Hence also, the Pauline writings differ *toto cœlo* from the Gospels and even the Acts. These are written in such a cool, objective, historic tone, that one becomes aware of the writer behind them only upon reflection. In the Pauline Epistles, on the other hand, the author himself is almost everywhere powerfully present. Paul and his passions permeate every page. He speaks continually in the first person; he emphasizes his authority; he greets his personal friends; he recounts his own experiences and feelings; he prays, he lauds, he pleads, he scolds, he harangues, every passion of his soul vibrates through his lines towards God and his fellow-man. So unrestrainedly did he express himself that the saying seems to have been current amongst the Corinthians that "his letters indeed are mighty and moving, but his personal appearance is weak and his spoken word makes little impression" (II Cor. 10:10).

And yet St. Paul was not a writer or literary man. In fact, he rarely actually wrote a letter himself, usually employing the intermediation of a secretary, such as Tertius (Rom. 16:22). This habit may partly be a reason for the Epistles' tumbling, irregular style, the latter being a reflec-

tion of Paul's hasty, oratorical manner of dictation. But often the Apostle adds a personal line in his own handwriting at the close (I Cor. 16:21; Gal. 6:11; Col. 4:18). Thus, he notes (II Thess. 3:17): "This greeting is from my own hand, Paul's; that is an identification in every letter; this is my handwriting: 'The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all! Amen.'"

That so many different topics are frequently treated of in the same Epistle, is no indication against its unity. These letters were generally transmitted by the hand of some trusted Christian who was traveling to the congregation addressed. Hence, advantage had to be taken of the favorable occasion, and various topics of need or interest had to be included in a single Epistle. Fellow-Christians also would avail themselves of the chance to greet distant friends: witness the lists of salutations in I Cor. 16:19–20; Rom. 16:1–24; Col. 4:10–15, etc.

Art. 4: THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

253. Occasion and Date.—The Epistle to the Romans has been given the first place in the collection, not because of priority of composition (being preceded in time by Galatians, Thessalonians and probably also Corinthians), but probably because of its length, and probably also because of its wide general dogmatic scope.

Differing in this from the case of most of his other Epistles, in writing to the Romans St. Paul was not moved by some need or difficulty that had arisen in the Roman community of Christians. There is no record of defection (such as had occasioned the Epistle to the Galatians), or of internal dissensions (such as required regulation at Corinth). Thus, this Epistle bears rather the form of a spontaneously written abstract treatise. Nevertheless, a practical end may also have been had in view by St. Paul, besides his own avowed broad purpose of "acquiring some merit amongst" the Romans "also, as amongst other Gentile peoples" (Rom. 1:13).

For St. Paul had "already several times resolved to visit" the Romans, "yet had been hitherto hindered." Thus he wrote when, on his Third Mission Journey, he was wintering at Corinth (57–58), waiting to go to Jerusalem in the spring to deliver the alms collected for that poor community. The deaconess Phœbe (of Cenchreæ, the east port for Corinth) was traveling to Rome (Rom. 16:1), and the Apostle took advantage of her trip to transmit to the Roman Christians a letter which would serve to introduce him, to prepare for his reception when he should himself come to Rome—as he evidently expected to do shortly after the proximate visit to Jerusalem. Little did he surmise then what vicissitudes of mob violence, imprisonment and shipwreck would intervene before his actual first entry into Rome almost three years later, chained to a guardian Roman legionary! St. Paul's projected visit to Rome, however, was not to be for evangelization proper, but rather in the nature of an incidental stop on a great missionary journey to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28).

For, humanly speaking, the Apostle's work in the Romanized Orient was completed: he had evangelized there from Jerusalem even to Illyria, the eastern boundaries of the West (Rom. 15:19); there "was no room" for him any longer "in these regions" (Rom. 15:20), especially since St. Paul considered it a point of honor "not to build on another's foundation." Hence, he was turning his face to the distant West, planning to have the Roman Christian community as his headquarters, to announce Christ to them "to whom naught had as yet been proclaimed of Him" (Rom. 15:21).

254. Roman Christian Community.—According to safe tradition, Christianity was brought to Rome by St. Peter on the occasion of his flight from Palestine after his miraculous liberation from Herod Agrippa's imprisonment.[1] His stay at

[1] It is not impossible, however, that Christian converts may have even earlier come from Palestine to Rome. "Strangers from Rome" (Acts 2:10) were in the crowd that listened to St. Peter's Pentecost sermon. St. Paul himself in this letter (Rom. 16:7) sends greetings to Andronicus and Junias, co-nationals and fellow-prisoners of his, who had become Christians before him and were "well-known apostles" (or "well known to the Apostles"?).

Rome might have been about a year (42–44), unless it was prolonged until Claudius (say 49–50): "Iudæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit."[2]

That St. Peter preached primarily to the Jews, of whom there was a large colony at Rome, is to be expected.[3] Nevertheless, at the time of St. Paul's writing, the Roman Christian community seems to have been composed mostly of converts from amongst the Gentiles. For, the "strong ones" (=Gentile converts) who are conscience-free to eat all foods (Rom. 14:1 *ss.*) are evidently presumed to be more numerous than the "weak ones (= Jewish converts) who eat but vegetables." Moreover, when three years later St. Paul himself arrived at Rome and spoke to the Jews there, these professed to know naught of the religion Paul preached, except that it "is a sect against which everybody talks" (Acts 28:21–22). Hence, there would not seem to have been intimate communication between the Christian community and the Jewish colony at Rome.

The fact that St. Paul assumes considerable knowledge of the Old Testament in the Roman Christians, does not argue for a predominantly Jewish membership in that church. For, first of all, Paul usually makes heavy demands of knowledge on all his readers; and Old Testament argumentation is natural to him as an ex-rabbi. The long excursus he has about the rejection of the Jews, is rather an explanation of a difficulty that might be raised by new Gentile converts. In fact, at its climax (Rom. 11:13), he is seen to be addressing the Gentiles: "I would emphasize to you, O Gentiles, etc." The discussion concerning Mosaic ceremonial observances (similar to Galatians) is seen, not to apply to cases of actual defection in this matter at Rome, but to be rather in the nature of a prophylactic, as if the Apostle feared that before his arrival Judaizing disturbers might appear to disturb the Roman community on this point. Moreover, that topic would naturally

2 Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25.

3 Still, Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposes*) witnesses to Peter's "preaching the gospel publicly at Rome before certain knights of Cæsar's household," at whose request, too, Mark composed his Gospel.

crop up in a Pauline disquisition on the value and function of the Ancient Covenant, as contrasted with the New Testament of Christ.

255. Change of Groups Addressed.—The reader of this Epistle must be careful to note that the Apostle in different parts thereof addresses himself to quite different people. At one time, he has in mind the mixed Christian community at Rome; at another, those members thereof who had come from the Gentiles; then again, those of Jewish origin; then again, unbelieving Israel (Rom. 9:1 *ss.*) or the heathen world at large (Rom. 1:17—4:25). Similarly, the term, "the Law," has differing values in diverse sections of this Epistle. At one time (and very commonly) it stands for the ancient Mosaic Code, now abrogated. Again, it may stand for the Law of Nature under which the heathens lived, or even for the perverse tendencies of human nature after the Fall, as opposed to the ideal of living in accord with the principle of man's divine sonship and elevation to the supernatural state. "Works" also here generally signifies the biblical *justificationes,* or observance of the legalistic regulations of the Mosaic Code; hence the emphasis laid on the lack of value of "works" for justification and the insistence on "faith." However, at times the term really means the "good works" elsewhere declared to be needed in addition to faith for salvation.

256. "The Law" in St. Paul.—St. Paul is continually contrasting the Law of Moses with the new and broader regime of "grace." In and of itself, "the Law" receives the praise of the Apostle as "just," "holy," "spiritual," etc. It was one of the great privileges of Israel (Rom. 9:4). Had it been given before "Sin," the innate corruption of human nature, had gained dominion over man, it might really have perfected man. As the case stood, the Law "brought nothing to perfection" (Heb. 7:19). Thus, it could lead only to a knowledge and increase of sin, without giving the strength for the accomplishment of what it commanded. It became an active instrument of sin, and thus worked wrath and led to death. Its ideal content, the will of God, was indeed justice and life; but its exterior form, the "letter" (γράμμα),

which limited itself to dictating and commanding, was "the letter that kílleth" and "the ministration of death" (II Cor. 3:6–7).[4] The Law was primarily planned to make man realize his weakness, sinfulness, and inability to reach the ideal for which God destined him. At the same time, it impressed on those who observed it a properly exalted idea of God's holiness and perfection. Mankind has to realize its fall and the futility of its own unaided striving upward independently of God's will, before it will be raised "graciously" by God in salvation. The humility and contrition of Baptism and Penance precede the loving embrace in sonship of the Eucharist. Analogous was the function of the Law. It went far—farther than the "natural law" and conscience alone—in bringing men upwards towards God; but it did not go all the way, nor far enough. Therefore, when the new and final stage of Christian perfection began to function, with its Sacraments effective *ex opere operato,* then observance of the primitive provisions of the Mosaic Code became futile—indeed harmful, if the observer maintained that thereby he would actually reach the perfection of God-likeness, "justification."

Thus, in minimizing and decrying "the Law," St. Paul but carried out logically the principles long before enunciated by his Master in the Sermon on the Mount, which form the charter of the new world-broad and all-embracing Kingdom of Heaven.

257. Content of Romans.—After a more or less conventional introduction (Rom. 1:1–15), wherein the Apostle gives reasons for his writing to the Roman community, St. Paul opens his first part with the declaration of his thesis: that *the evangel* (= the whole Christian system) *is divinely constituted and empowered to save those who accept it by faith* (Rom. 1:16). The point he then proceeds to prove is that faith in Christ, and not being a Jew or observing the Mosaic Code, is the base of participation in this new system.

He shows that this acceptance of Christianity by faith is necessary, because neither the heathens under natural law

[4] Bandas, *Master-Idea of St. Paul's Epistles,* pp. 118 *ss.*

(Rom. 1:18–32) nor the Jews under the Mosaic Code (Rom. 2:1 *ss.*) have hitherto succeeded in attaining or living up to their destined ideal (Rom. 2:12–29). No, these earlier systems are both insufficient. Therefore, now has appeared God's gracious system of "justification," of actually living up to the divine ideal through faith in Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:21–22), whom "God made our propitiatory offering through His bloody death" (Rom. 3:25) that He may "make just every man who believes in Jesus" (Rom. 3:26). And that "faith" in God is the real basic principle of all "justification," is illustrated in Abraham (whom the Jews considered as the first and model "just one"), who was declared just by God *before* he was circumcized, *upon his believing God* (Rom. 4:1–22). Thus, he became the spiritual ancestor, not of Jews alone, but also of non-Jews, of all in fact who like himself believe God. They too, through their faith, share in the inheritance of the Abrahamic Promise, whose fulfillment is naught else but the Christian evangel.

258. Evangel Means a New Life.—Now indeed the realization of the Promise has brought men primarily delivery from the ancient, original handicap, which prevented their being "justified"—made straight, upright, and in conformity with their divine ideal. But this new freedom does not mean license. Rather, having been reconciled to God, one must live up to that reconciliation to sonship (Rom. 5:1 *ss.*) by professing hope even amidst difficulties and by reciprocating that love which God has so superabundantly shown "by having Christ die for us whilst we were still sinners" (Rom. 5:8). Before Christ's coming, even under the Mosaic Law, men practically could not help sinning. Now the case is quite different. In Christ's death sin was killed. Those likewise who "die with Christ in baptism" (Rom. 6:3), are thereby freed from sin's domination (Rom. 6:6–7). Yes, the Law's purpose was to awaken and sharpen consciousness of sin (Rom. 7:13). It did not infuse actual help to withstand sin. But now that stage is over. There still remains natural concupiscence, not destroyed but broken, so that with God's aid

it now can be successfully resisted. The latent ideals of "the Law" can now be truly fulfilled, despite the weakness of the flesh, because God has brought it about through Christ's coming in the flesh "that we live no longer according to the flesh, but according to the supernatural ideal" (Rom. 8:4). Christians, consequently, besides believing in Christ, must live up to these new and higher standards for which they have been fitted by Him. "With God for us, what can stand against us?"

259. Difficulty from Rejection of Jews.—St. Paul had to face the obvious objection (Rom. 9:1 *ss.*): "If, as you say, God's reconstitution, re-creation, of man through Christ is so universal, embracing both Jews and non-Jews, how is it that the Jews (whom you admit to have been God's Chosen People) have apparently been excluded from all these benefits?" The solution of the difficulty naturally brings St. Paul to speak of the whole theme of *predestination.*

From the joyful rhapsody on God's love which closes chapter 8, there is a sudden transition to grief-filled lines of mourning, the cause of which is the non-sharing of the Jews in the Messianic Kingdom. Heart-moving and sincere is the sorrow of St. Paul for his co-nationals. If possible, he would suffer even the pains of hell for them (Rom. 9:3). Having expressed his regard and sympathy for them, the Apostle proceeds to the solution of the paradoxical difficulty of this peculiar status of the Chosen People in relation to the Redemption.

No, God's word, as set down in the ancient prophecies to Abraham, has not been made void (Rom. 9:6). These prophecies must be carefully weighed to seize their significance. First of all, the exclusion of the majority of Abraham's blood-descendants is not contradicted by the prophecies (Rom. 9:6–29). For, first, not all Abraham's blood-descendants are members of the Israel of prophecy (Rom. 9:6–13). God had never equally favored *all* descendants of Abraham indiscriminately, but had selected only a certain few. These were picked by His inscrutable free choice. Nor was there any

injustice in this. For the granting of God's favor is perfectly gratuitous, not conditioned upon any man's merit. Yet, He rejects none by His positive act.[5]

Moreover, out of the evil He permits, God brings even greater good to the universe. Through the rejection of the Jews, salvation was brought to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11). Again, the rejection of the Jews fulfills the prophecies of Osee 2:1, 24, and Is. 10:22 *ss.*, and 1:9.

260. Jews Brought Rejection on Themselves.—The Jews have brought their exclusion upon themselves (Rom. 9:30—10:21). For they have refused to believe (Rom. 9:30—10:4), and without faith justification cannot be attained (Rom. 10:5–13). God did everything to win the Jews to the Faith (Rom. 10:14–21). Lastly, "God has not cast off His Chosen People entirely" (Rom. 11:2), but even now has saved "a remnant."

The obstinacy of the greater number of the Jews works out to the Gentiles' gain, and the favor shown the latter should eventually rouse the Jews to emulation (Rom. 11:2–12). In the end, a reception of the Jews into the Kingdom of God is confidently to be looked for, as they still remain a sacred people. For the firstling sanctifies the whole mass (Numb. 15:19 *ss.*), and, the root-stock of the tree having been holy, its peculiarity will appear in the farthest branches (Rom. 11:16). Thus, the rejection of the Jews is not categorically universal, but limited in number and time.

261. Parenetic Section.—The third section of this Epistle (Rom. 12—15:13) contains the customary practical exhortations. Here the Apostle seems at times to have in mind conditions that caused trouble at Corinth (cfr. I Cor. 8–10, 12, 14). The Roman Christians should lead a pure life, not be jealous when another receives higher *charismata,* love their enemies, be obedient to the civil government (Rom. 12–13). The two classes of Christians—those of Gentile and those of

[5] "Nec obdurat Deus impertiendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo misericordiam" (St. Augustine, *Ep. cxciv,* III, 14). "(Deus) non dicitur indurare quasi immittendo malitiam, sed non apponendo gratiam" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *in loco*).

Jewish origin—are to respect each others' customs (Rom. 14—15:13). In conclusion (Rom. 15:13 *ss.*), St. Paul asserts that his exhortations are made upon the base of his apostolic authority. Chapter 16 is devoted to personal salutations, and closes with a doxology.

Art. 5: FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

262. Paul's Evangelization at Corinth.—On his Second Mission Journey, after having been rather unsuccessful at Athens (Acts 17:32–34), St. Paul came to Corinth, the great mercantile metropolis of Greece, vicious with the vices of every maritime city. There he stayed with the Pontian Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:1–2), who had lately been compelled to leave Rome because of the decree of Claudius, expelling all Jews from that city, or at least forbidding their holding assemblies. St. Paul stayed with this good couple, as they belonged to the same "union" or guild of which he was a member—the "tent-makers." Paul himself labored at his trade,[1] which was probably the weaving of large coarse cloth which was used primarily for tents, but which at Corinth was probably much in demand to furnish sails for the numerous ships that put in at its eastern (Cenchreæ) and western (Lechæum) ports.

Meantime, St. Paul started arguing at the synagogue on the sabbaths to convince the Jews of Christ's religion (Acts 18:4). He converted a Titus Justus, who lived next door to the synagogue, as well as the head of the synagogue itself, Crispus. Being refused the use of the synagogue, he turned from the Jews to preach to the Gentiles, being encouraged by a revelation in which God said: "I have much people in this city" (Acts 18:10). Many Corinthians, mostly of the lower and poorer classes (I Cor. 1:26–31), became Christians.

[1] "Cilicium," derived from "Cilicia," Paul's native province, was the name given coarse canvas cloth in antiquity. The long-haired "Angora" goats, it will be remembered, were raised in Cilicia, about Tarsus, Paul's native town.

For a year and a half, Paul labored thus at Corinth, having been joined there also by Silas and Timothy, who had come from Macedonia. Then he left with Aquila and Priscilla for Ephesus on his way to Jerusalem to fulfill a vow.

263. Apollo at Ephesus.—While St. Paul was absent from Ephesus on this journey, there arrived there an Alexandrian Jew named Apollo, who was "an eloquent man, . . . one mighty in the Scriptures." However, he was not yet a Christian, but only a disciple of John the Baptist—or at least knew of Christianity only what he had learned from such a source. But he debated vigorously in the synagogues for Christ. Aquila and Priscilla, seeing his good-will, took him in and gave him better instruction in Christianity. Likewise, as Apollo was desirous of going over into Greece, they gave him letters of introduction to the Corinthian Christians. There he proved to be a great help by his eloquence and dialectic skill, which a little later, unconsciously on his part, was to become a source of great trouble in the Corinthian community.

264. Paul Returns to Ephesus.—Meantime, St. Paul, having gone up to Jerusalem and then rested a while at Antioch, came back through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus (Acts 18:23, 19:1), where he stayed about two years, establishing the Church in the Roman Province of Asia. Here then, and during this period, he was informed by letter and messenger of troubles that had arisen at Corinth, and this report occasioned the Epistles to the Corinthians.

265. Conditions at Corinth Meantime.—Corinth was a busy, wealthy, and pleasure-loving city. Merchants and sailors, tradesmen and slaves, travelers from the East and the West, all swarmed through its streets, which were most significantly crowned with the temple of Venus on the height. The civic interests were varied: sports and games, the acquisition of wealth, the rhetorical discussions on "wisdom," all attracted its inhabitants. Thus, even the lower classes were "sophisticated" in both the good and bad sense of the word.

Like most of the Greeks, the Corinthians could become wildly enthusiastic about a good speaker. When Paul came

to them, it was "not in loftiness of speech or of 'wisdom,' "[2] nor "in the persuasive words of human 'wisdom' " (I Cor. 2:1, 4), but in the "showing of the Spirit and power" (= miracles?). His speech was crude, sincere enough, but jerky, ungrammatical, difficult—not smoothly flowing, pleasing to the ear, and by elaborate rhetorical argumentation flattering the intellectual vanity of his hearers, as did their rhetoricians.

266. Apollo at Corinth.—But when Apollo came after Paul's departure for Jerusalem—ah, there was a man after the hearts of many! How he could talk! Was he not from the famous Alexandrian university schools, "an eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures"! How he could confute the Jews "with much vigor, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Messias" (Acts 18:28)! Unlike poor Paul, who could only straightforwardly "preach Christ and Him crucified" (I Cor. 1:23), this man could embellish his discourses with references to Greek philosophy, with parallels from the "wisdom" of the schools.

So, as is the case often with a popular speaker, there formed a clique of Christians whose members boasted: "I am of Apollo!" (I Cor. 1:12). But others, more conservative, relishing the old wine better than the new and proud of having been converted by the founder of the Corinthian church, insisted: "I am of Paul!" Still others, probably born Jews and somewhat in sympathy with the Judeo-Christian tendency of many Jerusalemites, said: "I am of Cephas!" —because of Peter's acknowledged special apostolate for the Jews (Gal. 2:7–8). Lastly, a very small group, sophisticated beyond the others, declared haughtily and snobbishly: "I am of Christ!"—as if their fellows were not. These probably affected to despise human intermediaries between themselves and God.

Thus, there were four parochial cliques at Corinth—not real schisms (for all still met in common at the celebration of the Eucharist, etc.), but nevertheless harmful and foolish

[2] The Corinthians had asked for "wisdom," deep philosophical discourses set forth with all the trappings of ancient rhetoric. So St. Paul ironically harps on the word "wisdom," repeating it sixteen times in I Corinthians.

factions,[3] that weakened the unity, and made members more prone to infractions of charity by scandalous acts and legal bickerings (I Cor. 6:1–7). Above all, these cliques naturally gave rise to unkind discussion of the qualities and standing and relative value of ecclesiastical superiors (I Cor. 4:1–5).[4]

267. License.—Besides these factions, there were other matters of evil in the Corinthian community, which demanded either plain excoriation or sage counsel and explanation on the part of ecclesiastical authority. Corinth was a wild city, given over to the sexual irregularities which marked decadent heathendom, and which are enumerated with such brutal frankness by St. Paul in Rom. 1:24–32. That some amongst the newly converted Corinthian Christians did not immediately live up to the high ideals of Christian purity amidst the temptations of such an environment, is not surprising. But the case of the man committing incest with his stepmother (I Cor. 5:1–13) should have aroused the horrified protest of the whole community. That it did not—perhaps due to the clique evil—should lower the pride of certain haughty Corinthians, says the Apostle, who thereupon excommunicates this man. Already previously, St. Paul had been obliged to write a sharp letter[5] to the Corinthians, admonishing them not to consort with a Christian who gave himself to impurity, for "a little leaven corrupteth the whole mass" (I Cor. 5:6).

Certain of the Corinthian Christians seem to have vaunted particularly liberal views along these and other lines. They seem to have been under the false impression that, belonging to Christ, they were now free from every bond and restraint.[6]

[3] How many a pastor has had similar unhappy experience with parochial cliques, dividing parishioners into mutually disdainful groups that yet come to the same communion railing!

[4] I Cor. 4:2 Vulgate: "Hic iam quæritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur," should be read as ". . . dispensers of God's mysteries. Now a dispenser generally indeed strives to be found faithful (by the public, in discharge of his duties). But I, for my part, do not give a care how I may be judged by you."

[5] See I Cor. 5:9. This letter has been lost. Compare Col. 4:16.

[6] It would seem that married converts imagined they might *ipso facto* cast off their non-Christian consorts to enter new nuptials (I Cor. 7:10–16), and slaves refused to obey their masters (I Cor. 7:20–24).

This would be a natural extreme reaction in Hellenistic Jews liberated by Christianity from the irksome regulations of the Mosaic Code. They would carry to irrational extreme St. Paul's own dictum (I Cor. 3:21–22): "All things are for you . . . everything is yours," neglecting the limiting implication of St. Paul's close: "But you are Christ's, and Christ's is God's." They said: "Everything is allowed for us!" (I Cor. 6:12), and answered cynically the objection that certain things were certainly degrading: "Well, 'the belly is for the meats, and the meats are for the belly' " (I Cor. 6:13), as much as to say: these things are only natural, the demand and the means of satisfaction are both found in nature! These St. Paul had to remind that even their bodies were now primarily Christ's rather than nature's, temples of the Holy Ghost not to be desecrated by fornication (I Cor. 6:15–20).

268. Replies to Inquiries.—In I Corinthians, together with injunctions of his own, St. Paul incorporates answers to a number of questions, difficulties of conscience or points of dogma, concerning which the Corinthians had previously made inquiry by letter (I Cor. 7:1). These questions concerned marriage and virginity and widowhood, and also dealt with the legitimacy of eating meat previously offered to idols. In this, he requests them to be considerate of the squeamishness of conscience of such as might be scandalized (I Cor. 8:13). Incidentally, the Apostle here declares he has a claim to support by the Church, although, to avoid objection to the Gospel on this point, he has not pressed it (I Cor. 9:12).

269. Corrections of Abuses.—The Apostle also finds it necessary to correct abuses that had crept into the assemblies of the Corinthians. Women are to wear a head-covering in church (I Cor. 11:3–16).[7] At the *agapæ* (community love-

This was Christian liberalism with a vengeance. St. Paul would not have Christianity upset social order.

[7] The Corinthian ladies of that time displayed very high and elaborate coiffures. In St. Paul's regulation, there may have been a practical purpose—the avoiding of mutual feminine criticism, as missionaries in some South Sea islands make convert women wear the white sheet they receive at baptism whenever they come to church, because it effectively hides the multitude of trinkets wherein these women vie with each other.

feasts in connection with the Eucharistic celebration), all are really to share the food they brought in common, not to sit apart in cliques (I Cor. 11:17–34).

Then the Apostle, apparently having been asked for information, gives a lengthy explanation of the distinction and function of the *charismata,* which seem to have abounded in the members of the Corinthian church (I Cor. 12:1—13:35). Incidentally, he points out that, beyond any and all *gratiæ gratis datæ,* is to be sought the *gratia gratum faciens* of the love of God (I Cor. 13:1–13), whose characteristics he extols in a brief rhapsody, concluding: "Strive, therefore, for Love" (I Cor. 14:1a).

Then follows a dogmatic dissertation on the resurrection —both of Christ and of men [8] on the Last Day—and on the condition of the risen bodies.

270. Conclusion.—Finally, St. Paul makes practical arrangements about collecting the offerings to help out the indigent Jerusalem community, as he had "already arranged for the Galatian communities" (I Cor. 16:1). He expects to visit Corinth before going back to Jerusalem; when the bearers of the alms could go with him. Before coming to Corinth, however, the Apostle plans to go through Macedonia. Then he hopes to make a lengthy stay at Corinth, possibly wintering there (I Cor. 16:6–7). But he will not leave Ephesus before Pentecost (date of writing, then, is spring of 56). Meanwhile, Timothy is to visit the Corinthians, and then return to Paul. Apollo is staying with Paul at the time of writing, and cannot be persuaded to return to Corinth (fearing probably an aggravation of the clique trouble).

[8] The much disputed text of I Cor. 15:51–52 may perhaps be satisfactorily rendered: "We shall not all lie asleep in the grave; but we all shall indeed be transformed." For those alive at the Last Day, there shall be the instantaneous *act* of death indeed, but not the ordinarily subsequent *state* of death with its gradual natural dissolution process. Κοιμάω in the passive means "fall asleep, lie down (of animals), go to bed." St. Paul certainly holds that all men shall die (Rom. 5:12; I Cor. 15:22; 5:37; Heb. 9:27). See Bishop Macdonald on "Paul and the Parousia" in *The Ecclesiastical Review,* November, 1915, p. 557.

Art. 6: SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

271. Misunderstanding as Regards Visit.—There has come somewhat into vogue a theory that II Corinthians is not a sequel to I Corinthians, but that, after writing I Corinthians from Ephesus and sending Timothy and Titus also to Corinth to straighten out the troubles there, St. Paul himself came directly to Corinth (on a "second" visit unrecorded in Acts), was ill received, returned to Ephesus, and thence wrote the Corinthians a searing letter no longer extant. The very sharp tone of this letter is supposed to have aroused the resentment of the Corinthians. To this visit and to this hypothetical letter the Apostle is supposed to allude in II Cor. 12:14, 13:1, 2:1, and 2:3, 4, and 9. The person who brought such grief to St. Paul's heart (according to II Cor. 2:2, 5 *ss.*) is assumed not to be the incestuous man of I Cor. 5:2–5, but some other person at Corinth who had rebelliously put himself in opposition to the Apostle on some unknown point.

On examination, the texts adduced in its favor do not seem to oblige one to accept this rather intricate hypothesis. The following is an attempt to sketch the circumstances connected with and motivating the composition of II Corinthians.

272. First Promise.—Even before his first canonical letter to the Corinthians, St. Paul had been absent from Corinth at Ephesus about a year and a half. The Corinthians were very eager to see his face again. From indications in II Corinthians, one may surmise that the Corinthians had invited Paul to visit them in the letter they wrote him even previously to St. Paul's lost first letter to the Corinthian community. It may be that, in that lost letter, the Apostle assured them of his coming to them. Anyhow, in the second (canonical) letter (I Corinthians) he said: "I shall come to you after passing through Macedonia [instead of coming direct from Ephesus to Corinth by sea]. For I am going to pass through Macedonia, but with you haply I shall tarry or even spend the winter, so that [in the spring] you may escort me whither I may be going. For I don't wish to see you

now just on the way. Rather I hope to stay some while with you. . . . I shall remain [here] at Ephesus until Pentecost, for I am having a great and fruitful opportunity [here], although also numerous adversaries" (I Cor. 16:5–9).

273. Change of Plan.—One can see from this that St. Paul is evidently a bit worried about how the Corinthians will take his present notice concerning the visit to them, so careful is he to explain and to emphasize the advantage of a longer stay together, which they will thus enjoy. It sounds just as if previously, either in the lost first letter or orally by messenger, he had promised to come to them direct.

This conjecture is confirmed by a passage in the subsequent, third letter (= II Corinthians). On receiving his second letter (= I Corinthians), some of the Corinthians hostile to Paul had taken umbrage at his change of plan [1] with regard to visiting them. They thought he should have come as he had first said, directly by sea instead of via Macedonia. They accused him of writing one thing and meaning another (II Cor. 1:13, 17–18), of being vacillating in keeping his engagements. The Apostle proceeds to exculpate himself and explain his conduct in the matter.

"Yes," he writes, "I had at first (*πρότερον*) planned to come to you [directly] that you might enjoy the favor [of my] second [visit], and to pass by your way into Macedonia, and [coming] back from Macedonia to go to you and be escorted by you [on the trip] to Judea" (II Cor. 1:15–16). The allusion here to the Apostle's writing in I Cor. 16:5–9 is unmistakable. He admits that he had indeed (as he must have promised in the lost letter) primarily planned to come to Corinth directly. But, that the change of plan recorded in his second letter (= I Corinthians) was not due to mere vacillation or levity (II Cor. 1:17), but arose from his courteous consideration of the Corinthians' feelings.

[1] It may have been, however, that certain hypercritical "inflated ones" amongst the Corinthians found signs of weakness in the Apostle's saying near the beginning of his letter (I Cor. 4:19): "I shall come to you quickly," and then later, near the end, "backing down" as it were, by putting off his visit till after he should have gone to Macedonia (I Cor. 16:5 *ss.*).

274. To Spare Their Feelings.—There was so much trouble in the Corinthian community at the time (on account of the cliques and the unpunished crime of incest) that the Apostle's visit (since he would have had to come as a severe reprimander) would have been far from pleasant for either the Corinthians or himself (II Cor. 1:23–24). Consequently, St. Paul considered it advisable not to revisit Corinth under those saddening circumstances (II Cor. 2:1).[2] That was the reason he put off that visit a while, and preferred to tend to those matters by a letter (= I Corinthians)—a letter he wrote "in much sadness and anguish of heart and with many tears" (II Cor. 2:4).[3]

275. Paul Leaves Ephesus.—Meanwhile, after writing I Corinthians, St. Paul dispatched first Timothy (I Cor. 16:10–11), who was promptly to return and report at Ephesus, and then Titus. Before the return of Titus, St. Paul left Ephesus on his way to Macedonia, expecting to meet Titus at Troas before crossing over to Europe. Disappointed at not meeting Titus as arranged (II Cor. 2:12–13), he went over into Macedonia, where he encountered him (probably at Philippi). Receiving his report as to how matters stood at Ephesus, St. Paul sent Titus and some others back to precede him to Corinth and to finish the collecting of alms (II Cor. 8:6, 16–17), so that everything might be ready by the time the Apostle himself should arrive (II Cor. 9:3) with some Macedonian companions.

276. The "Third Time."—Thus it is that the Apostle can speak of a "third time that" he is "holding himself in readi-

[2] Here the πάλιν (="again" or "re-") does not indicate that a visit "in grief" preceded. All the Apostle wishes to express is that he did not want his second visit to Corinth to be unpleasant, in contrast to the first joyful getting acquainted.

[3] Compare I Cor. 4:9–12: "It seems to me that God has us Apostles appear as the last and least [of men], and [as criminals] condemned to death. We are made a laughing-stock before the whole world, both demons and men. For Christ's sake *we* are considered fools: *you*, of course, are clever in Christ! *We* are feeble: *you*, powerful! *You* are highly regarded: *we*, dishonored. . . . We have become like the scum of the earth and the bath-slops of every one." The Apostle realizes he has used very strong language, so that he feels it necessary to subjoin: "I write this, not in order to make you feel cheap, but in order to counsel you as my dear children."

ness'' (Ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἑτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς) to come to ''the Corinthians'' (II Cor. 12:14).[4] The first time was at Ephesus on the occasion of writing the lost first letter to the Corinthians, when he seems to have promised to come directly from Ephesus to Corinth. The second was[5] when he wrote I Corinthians, and said therein that he would come by way of Macedonia. Now that St. Paul has halted in Macedonia at least long enough to write II Corinthians and make the arrangements about Titus and the alms collection, this counts as the ''third time'' he is definitely intending and preparing to come to Corinth. And when, just a little further on (II Cor. 13:1), St. Paul says: ''This is the third time I am coming to you'' (Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς), in view of his having just said that it was the third time he was ''getting ready to come,'' he cannot mean that an intermediate visit actually preceded. The ἔρχομαι is simply the equivalent of ἑτοίμως ἔχω. According to the best Greek text, the Apostle goes on to say: ''Those who have previously sinned, and all the rest, I have [already] warned beforehand, and again warn—as if [already] present for the second time,[6] even if absent just now—that if I come upon the opposite[7] [of repentance], I shall show no leniency, since you are looking for evidence that Christ speaks in me—Christ who is not weak but powerful to act in your regard'' (II Cor. 13:2–3). He concludes: ''For this reason am I writing these things while absent, so that when I shall be with you, I shall not have to deal strictly, according to the authority which the

[4] For the phrase, compare Acts 21:13, where Paul is at Cæsarea on his way up to Jerusalem, and says when Agabus foretells his impending arrest: ''As for myself . . . I am holding myself in readiness . . . even to die at Jerusalem.''

[5] It is just possible that had Paul met Titus at Troas (as he expected) he might have taken ship thence directly for Corinth. This, in that case, might be considered a second attempt at coming.

[6] The best Greek supplies δεύτερον. The γράφω—''I write''—added by some MSS. after ''now,'' looks like an explanatory insertion.

[7] May not this be the sense of the odd εἰς τὸ πάλιν, instead of a tautologic ''again''? The Apostle had (shortly above, II Cor. 12:21) dreaded to meet certain sinful Corinthians before they had done proper penance. He warns them to repent: if they have not, and he finds on the contrary that they are still unrepentant, then . . .

Lord conferred on me for building up and not for tearing down'' (II Cor. 13:10).

St. Paul's enemies, who apparently arrived at Corinth or made themselves prominent there about the time of the arrival of I Corinthians, seem to have whispered about in this wise when they noted the change of travel plan indicated in I Cor. 4:18 *ss.* and 16:3–8: ''He won't come! He dares not appear since we've shown up his real character. He just wants to bluff you with his letters. His letters indeed are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak and his speaking makes no impression'' (I Cor. 10:9–11). These were some of the insinuations and slanders the Apostle aimed to counteract by writing II Corinthians.

277. A Personal Apology.—Hence, this Epistle is for the most part a personal apology of St. Paul for his conduct and bearing towards the Corinthian community. It gives an intimate insight into his marvelously tender, sensitive, yet eager, almost violent, character. Winning protestations of affection stand almost side by side with excoriations of biting irony. Withal, the Apostle has not forgotten the Corinthians' fancy for rhetorical variety and elegance of statement. His contrasts, ellipses, paradoxes, delicate verbal innuendoes, often fairly defy translation. For example, one may take the point of his having labored gratis amongst the Corinthians. This fact had been twisted by the self-constituted ''super-apostles'' (II Cor. 12:11) into a trick to catch and deceive the Corinthians. In reply, St. Paul says (II Cor. 12:13–18):

"In what have you come off shorter than the other communities—unless it be in this: that *I* would not slothfully be a burden to you? Please forgive me this 'injustice'!! Now I'm getting ready a third time to come to you—and I shan't burden you. It's not your goods but yourselves I seek. Rather than children for their parents, parents gather treasure for their children. For my part, I'll gladly spend, and indeed would be myself spent, for your souls—even if, loving you the more, I be loved the less by you!

"But, granted that I myself did not weigh you down, did I perhaps cleverly trick you thereby (by sending some one else to gather money for me)? Yes, I did request Titus [to go to you about gathering the Jerusalem alms], and sent another brother along with him. But, did Titus take more than was due from you? Did

we not both act in the same spirit, and he walk in my footsteps? . . ."

278. **"Self-Exaltation."**—The derogations and slanders of his enemies, who have endeavored to poison the minds of the Corinthians against him, oblige St. Paul with much personal embarrassment ("I've become a fool—and you made me do so," II Cor. 12:11) to enumerate some of the hardships and trials, as well as supernal consolations and favors, which have marked his apostolate. These declarations are wrung most reluctantly from him (II Cor. 11:16—12:11). He merely alludes to "signs and wonders and proofs of power" wrought by him at Corinth itself (II Cor. 12:12), besides the sufferings and revelations previously catalogued. All is but to show the Corinthians that his whole evangelization of Corinth has been second to none wrought elsewhere.

279. **The Corinthian Adversaries.**—It is not demonstrated that the Apostle's adversaries at Corinth, who are so sharply attacked in the last section of this letter, were of Judaistic tendencies, or at least tried to impose the Mosaic observances. That may have been their ultimate intention (for they were indeed Judeo-Christians, II Cor. 11:22). But, for the time at least, their plan was simply to discredit Paul and his apostolate. They were outsiders come to Corinth with letters of high recommendation from some other Christian community (II Cor. 3:1). They were great boasters of what they had accomplished elsewhere—but, as the Apostle notes (II Cor. 10:15–16), rather by taking advantage of the hard work other apostles had done, "retailing" or "peddling (καπηλεύοντες) the word of God" (II Cor. 2:17). Indeed, the acquiring of money for their ministry seems to have been a great object with these persons, and this makes St. Paul emphasize the gratuitousness of his own evangelization at Corinth. These "pseudo-apostles" (II Cor. 11:13) are clever deceivers, pulling the wool over the Corinthians' eyes as the serpent did over Eve's (II Cor. 11:3, 4d, 19–20).

These outsiders were well treated by the Corinthians. Indeed, St. Paul with clever rhetoric says he is asking no more than to be treated equally well (II Cor. 11:1, 4–6):

"I do hope that you've put up with this bit of foolishness on my part, yea, even that you (now do at least this, that you) 'put up' with me! . . . For, you put up finely with the outsider (= ὁ ἐρχόμενος)—indeed just as if he were announcing another[8] Jesus whom I hadn't announced [before—which he is not!]; or as if you were receiving a different Spirit which you hadn't received [before from me—which you are not!], or a different evangel which you hadn't accepted [before from me—which you are not!]. For, I do not consider myself as falling short in any way of these super-apostles!"

280. Divisions and Content.—To divide this letter accurately into sections is out of the question, as it is chiefly a swiftly changing, many-sided manifestation of St. Paul's personal feelings. Roughly, however, one may say that the first part (II Cor. 1:12—7:16) is an apology written to explain to those of the Corinthian community (the majority) who still held with Paul, how it came about that he changed his plan to visit Corinth. At the same time, he defends himself against the charge of double-dealing and ambiguity, showing this to be inconsistent with the high function of the apostolic office. This brings him to contrast the sublime dignity of the New Testament ministry with that of the Old, as well as to sketch the pains and perils inseparable from the apostolate, which means acting in and for Christ. Although his purpose is primarily personal vindication, the Apostle continually draws, from purely local-personal points, declarations and lessons of the highest supernatural order. Hence, St. Thomas[9] has thus well summarized the content of this Epistle:

"In prima epistola (ad Corinthios) agit Apostolus de ipsis sacramentis. Sed in hac secunda agit de ministris ipsorum sacramentorum, tam bonis quam malis. Ratio autem hanc epistolam scribendi fuit quod Corinthii post prædicationem eius admiserant pseudo-apostolos, quos Apostolo præferebant. Propter hoc scribit eis hanc epistolam, in qua commendat apostolos, et ostendit verorum apos-

[8] It is to be noted that Paul nowhere accuses these "pseudo-apostles" of teaching false doctrine. In fact, in this passage he draws his ironically humble argument from the fact that these "super-apostles" (οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι) after all neither taught nor did anything more than he did—or, if the Corinthians prefer, that he (Paul) did nothing less. Hence, he should be accorded at least equal regard.

[9] Aquinas, *Prolog. Expositionis super II Cor.*

tolorum dignitatem: ostendit etiam et vituperat falsorum apostolorum falsitatem. Commendat autem verorum apostolorum dignitatem ex hoc quod sunt ministri Dei . . . quantum ad (*a*) dispensationem sacramentorum . . ., (*b*) gubernationem . . ., (*c*) humanæ salutis operationem."

281. Talk on Collection.—In the second section (II Cor. 8:1–9:15) the particular topic is the arrangement of the collection for the Jerusalem community,[10] but it is developed into a discourse on almsgiving and church support in general. It is a model "money-talk." Delicately and delightfully does St. Paul handle a practical material matter, always emphasizing its essentially supernatural aspect. Cleverly does he appeal to the Corinthians' personal pride, rivalry with others (the Macedonians), and desire for supernatural merit.

As this second section comprises a matter generally treated about the close of Pauline Epistles (being a practical exhortation to good works), it may well have been that originally this Epistle also was about to close here.[11] But, having by now re-acquired the esteem and confidence of the Corinthians by his apology, St. Paul seems to have had a second thought, a sequel to what he had already written. As he has vindicated himself, so now he will attack and discredit and destroy his adversaries—who, after all, were a small minority and outsiders amongst the Corinthians.

282. Crushing of Adversaries.—In the third section (II Cor. 10:1—13:10), then, St. Paul settles with his adversaries. For safety's sake, he at the very outset dissociates himself from Timothy, who was associated with him in the composition of the earlier part of II Corinthians but had no share in this quarrel: "But [now] I, Paul, . . ." He shows he

[10] The Jerusalem community seems to have been the only one of the first Christian foundations to attempt the ideal of "having all things in common" (Acts 2:44–45). In practice, this resulted in their requiring the support of other Christian communities which continued the normal *bourgeois* practice of individual ownership of private property.

[11] Hence, some scripturists have considered what follows part of another Pauline Epistle, either of the first (lost) severe letter, or of the hypothetical one written between I and II Corinthians. The almost violently aggressive and severe tone of II Cor. 10–13 does not seem to follow well upon the pleasant and kindly words written previously.

is descending into the arena to fight out a personal quarrel. Whilst ostensibly addressing the Corinthians as a whole, it is unmistakable that Paul is really concerned only with the adventitious adversaries. He takes up their calumnies and insinuations against his character, and riddles them with mordant irony; he examines their vaunted prestige, and shows the worthlessness and trickery of their boasted conduct. He compares what they claim to have suffered and experienced with what he himself has gone through and received, to prove that he is at least not inferior to these boasting pseudo-apostles.

With a relieved "for the rest, brethren" (II Cor. 13:11) the Apostle turns from his vanquished enemies to the whole community, to close on a note of mildness and affection.

Art. 7: THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

283. District and Province of Galatia.—The Gauls (Irish) [1] were ever great wanderers. In the 3rd century B.C., having sacked Rome in 390, they crossed the Danube, invaded Macedonia and Greece, and finally carved themselves a kingdom in the mountain fastnesses of north-central Asia Minor, whence they wandered over the nearby countries. They were divided into the *Trogmi* or *Trocmi* about Tavium, the *Tectosages* about Ancyra (modern Angora), and the *Tolistobolgii* about Pessinus. The Romans later permitted them to be governed by their own princes, confined to their own district of

[1] Gaul, *Gallus* (in German *Wälsch*, with which are allied philologically "Wales" and "Walloon") seems to be derived from Celtic *gàl* (="foreigner"). At home, Irishmen called themselves *Gaeil* (="kinsmen"), but abroad they are known as *Gal-gaeil* (*gal-gaoidhil*) or "foreign Irishmen." The appellation "Celt," *Celtæ*, is not connected with the above etymologically, but probably derivable from *ceilim* (="I conceal") through the participle *cealte* (understood: *fir*, "men"), roughly "viri celati" or "hidden (= unknown) men". Compare Scotch "kilt." This would seem to be connected with the fact that every Gaelic *curadh* or "knight-errant" in foreign lands made a vow never to reveal his name to an enemy (see C. M. O'Keefe in *Catholic World*, XXXV, 1882, p. 118).

Galatia, until, about 25–24 B.C., the Roman Province of Galatia was erected by combining the old district of Galatia proper with parts of Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia under one Roman administration.[2]

In consequence of these political map-changes, the nomenclature of this part of Asia Minor became confused. After 25–24 B.C. the inhabitants of this whole region, whether of old Galatia proper or of the newer territories, would officially be designated as "Galatians," whilst at the same time locally the men of the newer portion would continue to call themselves from their districts "Phrygians," "Pisidians," or "Lycaonians."[3]

284. "North" or "South" Galatians?—To whom was this Epistle addressed? To the inhabitants of old Galatia proper, or to the inhabitants of the more newly joined sections—those especially of Lycaonia and Phrygia, as forming part of the Roman Province of Galatia? The answer is hotly disputed amongst scripturists. The older school seem to have favored the district of Galatia proper ("Northern" theory); more recently the "Southern" theory has been strenuously advocated.

Because of the position previously taken in regard to St. Paul's early visits to Jerusalem (identifying Gal. 2:1–10 with Acts 11:30 and 12:25, rather than with Acts 15:2–30), the "Southern" theory must perforce be followed here. For, on his First Mission Journey, St. Paul evangelized none but the southern districts of Galatia (Acts 13:13—14:28). Consequently, these alone could have been seduced to Jewish practices by "false brethren" coming in shortly afterwards, and therefore to those first-fruits of the formal Gentile mission would the Epistle to the Galatians be addressed. This was written probably at Antioch after St. Paul's return from the First Mission Journey to Southern Galatia, and before his third visit to Jerusalem to assist at the Council which for-

[2] See Callan, *Epistles of St. Paul*, I, p. 565.

[3] However, it is very likely that even in those southern regions there was a strong admixture of Gauls or Galatians, since these had previously terrorized the whole region thereabouts.

mally condemned the imposition of Mosaic ceremonial practices on Gentiles, and solemnly confirmed the doctrine laid down by St. Paul in his corrective Epistle to the Galatians.

Whilst one might recognize a racial trait in the fickleness of the Galatians who "so quickly" (Gal. 1:6) changed[4] in their esteem of the Apostle, one must also credit them as the first large group of non-Jews to enter the Church, as having given occasion for the formal de-Hebraization of the Church, and its consequent adaptability to non-Jews and worldwide spread. The Galatians were the pioneer Gentile Christian communities, St. Paul's first-fruits, and their race, once so sharply corrected, has clung inseparably to the Faith ever since.

That St. Paul later, on his Second or his Third Missionary Journey, evangelized the old district of Galatia proper also, is not improbable (see Acts 16:6, 18:23), though this has not been definitely proved by the advocates of the "Northern Galatia" theory.[5] Nowhere does St. Luke or St. Paul mention any churches founded in towns of Northern Galatia. And when Paul left Corinth in 58 to bring to Jerusalem the alms collected in his missions (Rom. 15:25–30; I Cor. 16:1), in the list of his companions there are none who might be considered as bearing the offering of the Galatians but Timothy of Lystra (Acts 16:1) and Gaius of Derbé (Acts 20:4), both "Southern" Galatians. It is quite understandable that St. Paul would call the Christian Phrygians, Pisidians and Lycaonians generically "Galatians," as it was the only name they had in common—from the Roman Province they all occupied, Galatia. Besides, the name "Phrygian" had come to be almost opprobrious, as *Cappadox* did later.

285. Purpose.—This first letter, then, of St. Paul, written after 46, perhaps 48–49, was intended to counteract the harm

[4] Note also the enthusiastic (see Gal. 4:14) reception of Paul and Barnabas as gods in Acts 14:10–12, and the stoning of Paul by the same people a little later. And, it may be remarked that it is always non-Galatians who by their meddling ingerence stir up the Galatians to make trouble for the Church. One might see in all this distant analogies with later history of the Irish race.

[5] See Nos. 234 and 238 above in Article on "Life of St. Paul."

done by Judeo-Christian fanatics, "false brethren" who had "sneaked in upon" (Gal. 2:4) the first territory the Apostle had formally evangelized, and had spoiled his work by persuading his recent converts that they had to be circumcized and observe the Mosaic ceremonial code. They had preached there "another (ἕτερον) evangel"—which indeed was not "another" (ἄλλο) because it was not the Gospel at all (Gal. 1:6). They had, moreover, denied St. Paul's Apostolic authority.

The Apostle's purpose, then, is to convince the Galatians that they are not to be circumcized or otherwise assume the burden of the Mosaic Code, because faith in Christ is adequate for justification, without the works or practices of the Law. Thus, the theme of Galatians is much like that of the first part of Romans—with this difference, that what Paul sketched roughly and vigorously in Galatians, he developed with precision and calmness at length in Romans. The latter is plainly an advance on Galatians, and must have been written later.[3] Yet, even here the argumentation of the Apostle is masterful. As he was professedly writing to Gentiles, yet uses typical rabbinic argumentation in places, one might conjecture that indirectly he addressed the Jewish "false brethren," to whose knowledge he expected his letter to be brought.

286. Content.—In his introduction Paul emphasizes his divine commission. He has not received his Gospel from men (Gal. 1:11–12), as the "false brethren" had the Pharisaic traditional observances they preached. He is at pains to show that he has had little chance to pick up a merely human set of teachings at Jerusalem, as he had been there only twice since his own conversion and before he preached to the Galatians. On both occasions, the Apostles at Jerusalem were the ones with whom he principally dealt—and these added nothing (Gal. 2:6) to the fund of doctrine he already had "by revelation" (Gal. 1:12), but only confirmed its harmony with what they themselves taught. Thus, on occasion Paul could

[3] It is noteworthy that the Syriac Canon gives the Epistles in the order Galatians, Romans, Corinthians, Hebrews—which was also Marcion's order.

independently reprove Peter for falling short in the practice of the principles they both preached (Gal. 2:11–14).[7]

Beginning with Gal. 2:15, Paul seems to give a summary of the plea he made on that occasion at Antioch. "For," he says, "we, Jews by race, even *we*, although not sinners like the Gentiles, once we realized that justification is not wrought by works of the Law but by belief in Jesus Christ, we too took on faith in Christ Jesus, so that we thereby received the justification which the practices of the Law could not give us" (Gal. 2:15–16). This speech probably continues to Gal. 2:21, after which St. Paul again directly addresses those to whom he is sending his letter: "O senseless Galatians, how could you have been so 'bewitched' as to depart from the truth, when Christ had been so vividly pictured before your eyes as crucified in yourselves?" (Gal. 3:1).

287. Scripture Argument.—With Gal. 3:6, the Apostle begins to show from Sacred Scripture that justification comes from Christ alone, and that the Mosaic legal practices are unnecessary for non-Jews. His argumentation is after the best rabbinic manner: Even Abraham, the first of the Jews, was justified through his *Faith* and not through legal observances, as the Scripture expressly states. Hence also, all who *believe*, whether Jews or Gentiles, are thereby, and thereby only, justified—and all such believers are counted as "children of Abraham" under the Promise. . . . After all, this Promise was given rather to one—"thy descendant," namely Christ—than to the whole previous Jewish nation (Gal. 3:16). If even amongst men a probated will is unchangeable, so surely the testament made by God to Abraham is not voided or changed by the Mosaic Code given so much later! Could the Thora be against God's earlier Promise (Gal. 3:21)? Hardly.

Moreover (argues the Apostle) the Thora was in a sense inferior to the Abrahamic Promise. For the Law was in the nature of a two-party contract, consequently valid only as

[7] The Antioch incident taking place at a time when the Judeo-Christian question was still debatable and unsettled (*before* the Jerusalem Council), Peter's vacillation is quite intelligible.

long as *both* parties (God and the Jews) fulfilled each his share. When the Jews failed, God's "obligation" under the Law was cancelled. The previous Abrahamic Promise, on the other hand, was not a two-party contract, but more in the nature of a will or testament made by God directly (without any dickering "mediator" between "parties") to Abraham; hence, the Promise is absolute where the Law is conditional; the Promise is immutable whilst the Law is susceptible of abrogation; the Promise, made without restriction, is eternal, whilst the Law, given with the coming of the future Promised Descendant in view, was temporary (Gal. 3:19–20).[8]

The Promise, then, received its accomplishment in Christ. But all who are baptized have been incorporated in Christ, so that, whether Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, men or women, they form but a single person with Christ—His own Mystical Body. Therefore, all such become thereby recipients of the accomplishment of the Abrahamic Promise (Gal. 3:27–29).

288. Inferiority of Law.—Thereupon, St. Paul again takes up the point of the inferiority of the Law: it was given as to immature children for their period of minority, a system of primitive, safeguarding, coercive regulations which were to keep at least a portion of mankind from wandering too far from God. But, when Christ came, in Him mankind arrived at its majority, and could look upon God, not as a contractual taskmaster, but as "Father" (Gal. 4:1–7). As "sons" in full right, men became also plenary "heirs" of the Abrahamic Promise, and were no longer obligated under the Law.[9]

289. Plea on Personal Affection.—St. Paul does not omit to make a personal plea, too (Gal. 4:11–12): "I worry that

[8] On this most obscure passage see Bandas, *Master-Idea of St. Paul's Epistles* (Bruges and St. Paul, Minn., 1925), pp. 106–109. This book is invaluable for a study of St. Paul.

[9] Paul is probably alluding to the Græco-Roman law of tutelage. Nevertheless, already Cæsar had written of the Gauls: "A reliquis [gentibus] differunt quod suos liberos nisi cum adoleverunt, ut munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur, filiumque puerili ætate in publico in conspectu patris assistere turpe dicunt" (*De Bello Gallico,* VI, xviii, 3). In Ireland, the father entrusted his son to others, generally the Druids, for education. He was a *mac-foesma,* "son of protection," meantime like a slave (note Gal. 4:1–2).

I may have labored in vain in your regard. Try to be again as I am, brethren, just as I tried to become like you, I beg you. Up till now you had nowise offended me." Indeed (the Apostle continues, Gal. 4:13–14), when he first evangelized them, it was whilst he was humanly in a condition of miserableness and suffering.[10] He had been sorely calumniated at Pisidian Antioch, maltreated at Iconium, stoned to unconsciousness at Lystra (Acts 13:50, 14:5, 18). Nevertheless, the Galatians welcomed him "as an angel of God, as Christ Himself."[11] "My dear babes," he concludes, "for you I am again suffering a mother's birthing pangs, till you be shaped to Christ-likeness. I wish I were with you now, to speak in a different tone. I am quite cast down in your regard" (Gal. 4:19–20). And here the Apostle seems to break into tears of sorrowful vexation at the way in which his first-fruits have been spoiled.

But he takes up the pen again to launch another rabbinic argumentation at the Judaizers who have caused all the trouble (the allegory of Sara and Agar, Gal. 4:21–30). Then, summoning all his personal Apostolic authority, he makes solemn declaration (Gal. 5:2–4): "Behold, I, Paul, say to you: If you have yourselves circumcized, being Christians is of no use to you. . . . Your Christianity would become void and your grace valueless if you seek justification in the Thora!" Finally, Paul refutes the Judaizers' calumny that he himself taught the need of circumcision. "Were that so," he says, "I would not be suffering persecution, and the doctrine of the Cross would no longer be a scandal to them" (Gal. 5:11).

The second part of the Epistle begins at Gal. 5:13, and consists of moral exhortations easily understood.

At the conclusion Paul again writes, making with his own hand big emphatic letters (Gal. 6:11–12): "THOSE WHO

[10] In Gal. 4:13, the received reading δι' ἀσθένειαν (accusative instead of genitive proposed) is to be retained, as Paul is giving the condition he was found in whilst among the Galatians, not the cause of his going to them.

[11] "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men!" (Acts 14:10) exclaimed the people of Lystra, and made ready to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas.

WOULD OBLIGE YOU TO CIRCUMCISION, ONLY DO SO TO PLEASE MEN, SO THAT THEY WILL NOT HAVE TO SUFFER PERSECUTION FOR TEACHING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CROSS! Why, they do not observe the Law themselves, and only want you circumcized so that they can boast of their totals!" "I hope that none of you further strike me such blows,[12] for—I still bear on my body the scars [of the Lystra stoning on account] of the Lord Jesus" (Gal. 6:17).

Art. 8: THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

290. Date and Occasion.—St. Paul's personal activity had been transferred from the Oriental to the Occidental world, though scarcely in the manner he had expected. He was a prisoner at Rome, awaiting the long-delayed trial of his case which he had appealed from the court of the Procurator of Judea (Felix) to that of Cæsar. Nevertheless, his interest never waned in the growth of the Church in the Oriental districts which he had previously evangelized. To the latter, then, he addressed several letters during the period from the spring of 61 till the spring of 63, whilst he was "chained on Christ's account for the Gentiles" (Eph. 3:1) in his first imprisonment at Rome.[1]

There had come to visit him in his bonds Epaphras, who had "labored much" for the Christian congregations at Colossæ, "Laodicea and Hierapolis" (Col. 4:13). Indeed (having probably himself been converted by St. Paul at Ephesus), Epaphras seems to have been the founder of the Church (Col. 1:7) in that southwestern part of Phrygia

[12] Here there seems to be a play on the primary literal signification of κόπους (both "beating" and "bother"), corresponding with στίγματα.

[1] What is said here introductorily to Ephesians, applies also to Colossians, Philemon, and, with some divergencies, to Philippians. The first three named letters were probably written about the same time, the specific Colossians serving as the groundwork for the general Ephesians, and Philemon being a postscript to Colossians, and serving to reintroduce Onesimus to his master. Both Colossians and Ephesians were delivered by Tychicus.

which St. Paul had not visited. Epaphras undoubtedly reported to St. Paul the conditions of the Church and of his own converts in that field. Besides Epaphras, there was at the time with St. Paul at Rome Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon, wealthy patron of the congregation at Colossæ. There was also Tychicus, of the neighboring Province of Asia, possibly an Ephesian. From these persons St. Paul could gather news as to the spread and growth of the Church during the preceding four or five years, when the Apostle himself had been hindered from his usual evangelization through his imprisonments and storm-filled sea voyage.

291. New Foundations of Churches.—How had the mission work fared meanwhile? Had the Kingdom of Christ spread into other Gentile districts besides those which Paul himself had evangelized? And how did those new Christian congregations stand in the Faith? Were Judaizers meddling there, too? Questions like these must have been the first on the lips of St. Paul when, with his chains upon him, he received at Rome these several persons who could bring him reliable information from the scene of his former labors.

St. Paul was ever conscious of his special duty as Apostle of the Gentiles. Hence his anxiety concerning even such congregations as had been established, not by himself, but by his disciples or others. His prayers and care watched over them from a distance. Being impeded from visiting them personally, he would at least guide, encourage and correct them by letter. This was the origin of his Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians (general), and of the more personal note to Philemon.

292. "Unity" Theme of These Epistles.—From the reports, favorable and consoling in the main, brought him by his visitors, St. Paul's keen mind immediately reasoned to what outstandingly needed emphasizing, since the Church had spread so far, and there had arisen so many new congregations which had not had the benefit of a certain unification arising out of being founded by the same Apostle. These various groups must not be left disparate. There must be roused in them a keen consciousness of their being part and

parcel of one vast Christian organization, the Kingdom of God, the Mystical Body of Christ. This consciousness must weld the divers scattered congregations, both large and small, into homogeneous unity of belief and practice. Hence, as St. Thomas well noted, in these three Epistles of the First Captivity (Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon) St. Paul deals with the "gratia Christi secundum affectum unitatis quam in Ecclesia fecit," being concerned respectively "de institutione ecclesiasticæ unitatis" (= the principles of this unity, in Ephesians), "de confirmatione et profectu gratiæ ecclesiasticæ unitatis" (= Philemon, master and slave brothers in the Church), and "de defensione gratiæ ecclesiasticæ unitatis contra errores" (= Colossians).

293. Addressees of Ephesians.—One way in which the unity and cohesion of the Church might be at the same time shown and furthered, would be the issuance of a circular letter, to be read in the various new congregations.[2] And the Epistle at present entitled "to the Ephesians" seems to be, in fact, just such an encyclical.

Indeed, the address ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is lacking in ℵ* *B*,* and seems to have been unknown to St. Basil, Origen, Tertullian, and St. Jerome, whose text had simply τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν . . . καὶ πιστοῖς, leaving the sense inexplicably incomplete. On the other hand, the majority of the MSS., as well as such early witnesses as St. Ignatius,[3] St. Ireneus,[4] the Muratorian Canon (line 51) and Clement of Alexandria,[5] testify to some connection between the Ephesian congregation and this Epistle.

But an anomaly is also to be noted in the fact that the Epistle shows no trace of St. Paul's intimate acquaintance with the Ephesian congregation, which he had founded (Acts 19:1–7, 18:19) and where he had lived over two years (Acts

[2] For this end also, St. Paul orders that his Epistle to the Colossians be read at Laodicea, and that a letter the Laodiceans would receive be read also at Colossæ (Col. 4:16).

[3] Ignatius, *Ad Ephesios*, XII: ὃς (Παῦλος) ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν —which should be translated: "who (Paul) is mindful of you in his *whole* Epistle" (not: "every"), or perhaps: "remembers you with an entire (= special) Epistle."

[4] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær*, V, 14, 3.

[5] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, IV, 8.

19:10). There is no list of personal greetings to friends appended.[6] The addressees of the letter are assumed only to have *heard of* St. Paul's special function as Apostle of the Gentiles (Eph. 3:2–4); similarly, St. Paul himself has only *hearsay* knowledge of the faith and charity of those to whom he is writing this Epistle (Eph. 1:16). All this is incongruous with the theory that Ephesians was specifically composed for the congregation of that name.

294. Ephesians an Encyclical.—How may these various anomalous factors be reconciled and explained? By the theory that the Epistle now known as "to the Ephesians" was originally a circular letter intended primarily for the new congregations which had arisen in the hinterland of Ephesus, such as Laodicea,[7] Colossæ, and Hierapolis. Its impersonal, general character is an indication of this. But, how then did the letter come to be particularly connected with Ephesus? Probably because Ephesus was the metropolitan see, the "titular" for that whole district. Tychicus, the bearer of this letter, in all probability landed first at Ephesus, and there doubtless the Epistle of the beloved Apostle was first read in the assembly, and probably a copy thereof made. Then the letter, or copies thereof, were presumably sent to the other congregations of the province. As the Epistle had no definite address originally, it would quickly come to be referred to by the name of the first recipients, in the city which was likewise the headquarters of that group of Christian congregations.

295. Theme of Ephesians.—There is such a parallel between Ephesians and Colossians that it may be said that what is sketched and swiftly indicated in Colossians (which is a specifically directed letter with special applications) is developed leisurely and more at length in the impersonal encyclical called "Ephesians." Both treat of Christ as the unifying,

[6] Hence the unsupported conjecture of some scripturists that the long list of greetings in Rom. 16:1–16 really belongs at the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

[7] Thus, Marcion's editing this Epistle as "to the Laodiceans" (basing himself on Col. 4:16) was wrong only in being too specific in its assignation.

all-coördinating principle of the totality of the extra-divine. Whilst Colossians is more occupied with showing forth the preëminence, headship, of Christ—who is the "(visible) representative of the invisible Godhead, first-born before all creation . . . who is before all beings, and in whom all subsist; . . . head of the Church; first to rise from the dead, that in every thing He should have the primacy" (Col. 1:15–20)—Ephesians, on the other hand, endeavors to make plain the manner of the subordination and union of the extra-divine to Christ, "in whom (God) chose us already before the foundation of the world . . . out of love determining us beforehand to be adopted as children unto Himself through Christ" (Eph. 1:4–5). Thus, Ephesians naturally culminates in the magnificent doctrine of the Church as Christ's mystical (but none the less real) body, uniting as members equally honored both Jews and Gentiles.

296. Mystical Body of Christ.—Now, St. Paul develops the deepest significance of the words he heard at the gate of Damascus: "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest!" (Acts 9:5). The Church is naught else but the complement (πλήρωμα) of Christ, His extension or expansion in time and space. To express this idea, St. Paul again and again uses the term "Body of Christ," of which the "sanctified" are members with various functions. Thus, the Church is seen to be, not a mere artificial conglomerate of believers (like a civil corporation), but a true organism whose various parts are vitalized and truly conjoined by the informing Spirit. This thought is but the development of Christ's own word, later to be recorded by St. John: "I pray . . . that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us . . . that they may be one as We also are One—I in them and Thou in Me—that they may be made perfect in one" (John 17:21–23).

A definite advance in theology may be noted in these First Captivity Epistles as compared with the earlier ones. There Christ had been considered as the Messias, the Son of God, become man to redeem men; now deeper study coördinates earlier unconnected data; the vast lines of God's plan

(οἰκονομία) relative to man and the world are converged to give a breath-taking glimpse of the infinite, ungraspable beauty, generosity, wisdom, and power of the Divinity's dealings in the extra-divine—of the intimacy with the Godhead to which all outside was destined. Small wonder that the Apostle's thoughts again and again strain every capacity of language for expression. For "out of the riches of the favor which God hath lavished upon us, He made known unto us for (our) full wisdom and understanding His mysterious design: TO CONJOIN AGAIN UNDER ONE HEAD (= to unify)—*according to the plan He had long before set for carrying out in Him His dispositions in due season*—whatever is in heaven or upon earth, IN CHRIST: in whom not only we (Jewish Christians) received our inheritance—*we who, according to the disposition of Him who works all things conformably to His wish and will had been forechosen, having hoped beforehand in Christ, unto the praiseful showing forth of His glory* —but also you (Gentiles)—after you had heard the message of truth, the good tidings of your salvation, and believed therein—have been sealed with the promised Holy Spirit" (Eph. 1:7–13).

297. Conspectus of Contents.—In the years which intervened since earlier letters, like Galatians and Romans, the Judeo-Christian controversy and other points formerly discussed at length by the Apostle had practically passed from the field of controversy. The conclusions then arrived at after long argumentation are now assumed and but briefly alluded to, as received premises. This being a general, circular letter, there is no acrimonious debate, no correction of specific abuses, but an essay to advance the theologic knowledge of the readers—who are now "no longer children tossed back and forth, and blown by every wind of doctrine" (Eph. 4:14)—"so that, with all the others of the sanctified, they may be empowered to grasp the breadth, length, height and depth of Christ" (Eph. 3:18).

The contents of Ephesians may be divided as follows: (1) From eternity has God determined to place all things both in heaven and on earth under the headship of Christ; Jews

and Gentiles are to be fused into one in Him (Eph. 1:3–14). (2) The Apostle pleads for the perfect conformity of all believers to Christ, whose exaltation he glorifies (Eph. 1:15–32). (3) In Christ, God has raised also the Gentile Christians from the death of sin to equality with Jewish Christians. Both have received this boon, not through works of the Law, but as God's free gift (Eph. 2:1–10). Hence, (4) the Gentile Christians are perfectly on a par with the Jewish Christians in Christ's Kingdom (Eph. 2:11–22). But (5) Paul is the specially appointed Apostle for the Gentiles. His readers are not to be scandalized at the sufferings he is undergoing (Eph. 3:1–21). They are exhorted to unity in the Faith (Eph. 4:1–16).

Next follows the usual parenetic section. All are exhorted to personal sanctification (Eph. 4:17—5:21). Then the various categories of the faithful, women, men,[8] children, fathers, slaves, masters, are exhorted to the duties of their respective states (Eph. 5:22—6:9). In conclusion, the Apostle pleads for steadfastness and asks prayers for himself to the same end, that he "may have the courage to speak as frankly as he should" (Eph. 6:19). This paragraph indicates Paul's expectation to be free soon for further mission work; hence it points to the first Roman imprisonment as the time of composition.

Art. 9: THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

298. The Philippians' Friendship.—Perhaps the most charmingly tender, affectionate of the Pauline letters is the Epistles to the Philippians. These were the first European Christian community founded by St. Paul. And the courtesy shown Paul and his companions on their first coming there, when Lydia offered them lodging and even their recent jailer set a table for them (Acts 16:12–34), seems to have pursued

[8] Eph. 5:32 is best translated: "This (= the preceding citation of Gen. 2:24) is a deeply-significant oracle, as I interpret it, of Christ and the Church." St. Paul takes "a man" of the Genesis text as referring to Christ.

Paul even after he left that city. When he was at Corinth, generous alms were sent to him from Macedonia. Repeatedly did the Philippians send money which enabled the Apostle more freely to carry on his work (Phil. 4:16–17). And even now, years later when St. Paul is in chains, Epaphroditus, a zealous Philippian, has come to distant Rome bearing kindly offerings from his congregation, and has himself given the Apostle what personal service he could (Phil. 2:25). This kind man fell grievously ill at Rome, and upon his recovery the Apostle deems it best that he return to Philippi because his friends there have been much worried over his illness.

299. Time of Composition.—As for the time of the composition of Philippians, it must have been not long before St. Paul's trial and acquittal before the imperial court. For he writes therein (Phil. 2:19–23) that he hopes to send Timothy also to the Philippians "soon," as promptly as he can "see how things in his (Paul's) regard are turning out." Indeed, the Apostle expects "to go himself soon" to Philippi.[1] Moreover, he seems to be no longer in the "hired lodging" he had occupied whilst "on bail" for two years, but in the barracks prison of the Pretorian Guard (Phil. 1:13), as his trial is imminent on the docket. His proximity to Cæsar's headquarters would also occasion acquaintance with the imperial household slaves and freedmen (Phil. 4:22). Belser places the compositions of Philippians in March–April of 63.

300. Occasion and Circumstances.—The interrelationship of events connected with this letter may be surmised to have been somewhat as follows. First, the Philippians hear of Paul's being in Rome, technically a prisoner indeed, but living under guard at his own lodgings, being free to receive all who come to him, and still active in preaching and evangelizing. Thereupon, they get up a collection for his benefit—a collection which may not have been as large as they desired, or may have been delayed in transmission, to their regret (Phil. 2:30, 4:10). Finally, they send Epaphroditus to

[1] Even before that, however, he expects to send Timothy to the Philippians, as soon as he has definite information as to how his trial will issue (Phil. 2:23).

Rome with their gift. At Rome Epaphroditus falls seriously ill, and, at about the same time, Paul is taken into the stricter custody of the Pretorian Guard for the beginning of his trial. The news of both these events arrives at Philippi and saddens that community, whose members worry whether their proffered help may not have been in vain. St. Paul, in turn, hears at Rome of the Philippians' grief and worry. To reassure them that matters stand well with him, even at the opening of his trial, he writes them this letter and sends it to the Philippians by Epaphroditus, assuring them that the Gospel has not only not been repressed, but has been even furthered by the change in his condition (Phil. 1:12), since the persons of his new surroundings, who are Pretorians and members of the imperial household, have come to realize that he is no criminal but "bears his chains only for Christ's sake"—and that in consequence of an expected favorable issue of his imprisonment "many brethren venture boldly to announce the word of God" (Phil. 1:14).

301. Purpose and Plan.—The above summary already has stated the chief purpose of this letter. Indeed, the Philippians formed a model congregation or "parish." There were therein no heresies, no schisms, no contentious factions. Its members were unselfishly generous in their donations, even for distant missionary work. They were affectionately attached to their founder, St. Paul. He boasts of their model character; they are his "joy and his crown" (Phil. 4:1). They have ever been obedient to him (Phil. 2:12). Only one little matter causes some displeasure to the Apostle—and it is a matter scarcely avoidable even in the best regulated parish. Two of the ladies are at outs with each other (Phil. 4:2). Asking that these be reconciled, the Apostle recommends them to Epaphroditus,[2] as they had been his valuable collaborators in spreading the Gospel. Others, too, are recommended to Epaphroditus' care, Clement being mentioned, and, as to the names of the rest (the Apostle cleverly adds, to

2 In Phil. 4:3, σύζυγε (=literally "companion yoke-bearer") can hardly be read as a proper name. The direct address, σέ, seems best understood as referring to Epaphroditus, present when the letter was written or dictated.

avoid the enumeration), they "are written in the Book of Life."

One can hardly speak of a "plan" in Philippians, which is rather a heterogeneous outpouring of affection, news, plans, warnings, and more affection.

302. Warning Against Jews.—There is no evidence that Judeo-Christian agitators were actually at work in Philippi. Rather the Apostle's warnings against them (Phil. 1:28; 3:2–7, 18) are prophylactic, as was the confutation of their position in the Epistle to the Romans. At Rome during St. Paul's imprisonment, these agitators seem actually to have been busy (Phil. 1:15), taking advantage of the Apostle's handicapping confinement, and expecting thereby to embitter his condition (probably by alienating his friends). "However," generously exclaims the Apostle, "what does it matter? So long as Christ is preached somehow (whether through jealousy or sincerely—even for the former), I rejoice and shall continue to rejoice" (Phil. 1:18).

But he is worried nevertheless that such agitators will try to spoil his Philippians. Hence, when about to conclude his letter (at Phil. 2:30), he reopens the topic with an apology: "To write to you again on this topic is not superfluous on my part [though it may seem so]—and a prudence in your regard. Watch out for [those] dogs!"—he refers to Judeo-Christian agitators who resembled the wandering, masterless dogs of the Orient. "Take heed against being 'cut up'!" There is a pun here between *κατατομή* (= mutilation) and the closely following *περιτομή* (= circumcision). "For," says St. Paul, "we (= real Christians), who serve God spiritually, are the real circumcision" (Phil. 3:3). The position of the Judeo-Christian agitators he refers to scornfully as a shameful "mutilation."

303. The Great Christological Text.—Of theological disquisition there is little in this Epistle. It is primarily a letter of affection rather than of instruction. And yet therein, tucked away as a comparison to point an exhortation to humility in mutual relationship, is found the greatest Pauline testimony to the divinity of Christ. In an aside, he mentions

the preëxistence of the Person of Christ in the Godhead. "Have the same attitude of mind that Christ had: He, being of divine nature from the beginning, did not [have to] deem God-equality a usurpation [3] (= something to be clung to and asserted despite any needs of others); but [4] He emptied Himself thereof (or: made His divinity as naught), taking on a slave's nature [at the Incarnation] by coming to being in human likeness; moreover, being found in all appearance like a human being, He humbled Himself [yet more] by being obedient even unto death—a death on a cross!" (Phil, 2:5–8).

The sense is plainly that the Person of Christ had divinity as rightfully His own from all eternity. Nevertheless, He did not allow this to be a hindrance to His assuming a lower nature, rather laying it aside, as it were, to be accounted as naught. But He did assume an infinitely inferior nature by becoming man. And even as man, He was agreeable to the will of another that He would suffer even death—and death by crucifixion (a slave's death) at that! After reading this text, who can deny that St. Paul conceived Christ as a Divine Person?

Art. 10: THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS

304. Addressees.—Colossæ was a little city, adjacent to both Laodicea and Hierapolis, in the valley of the Lycus in southwestern Phrygia. Into that same district, centuries previously, Antiochus the Great had transplanted some thousands of Jews from Palestine. Perhaps mutilated traditions from these Machabean Jews had something to do with the angel-worship (Col. 2:18) [1] which St. Paul found to criticize in this Christian community.

[3] That is: something robbed or stolen, hence unjustly acquired. The Latin commentators prefer an active sense for ἁρπαγμός: robbery, unjust acquisition. The sense amounts to the same.

[4] Here ἀλλά should not be translated as "nevertheless," but rather by "still."

[1] Interesting in this connection is the so-called "Planet Inscription" carved on a stone in the wall of the theater at Miletus—which city was easily accessible from southwestern Phrygia. The inscription, whether Jewish or Christian, is a magic formula invoking each of seven archangels, closing with: "Archangels, guard the city of the Milesians and

Christianity had been brought thither, not by St. Paul, but by Epaphras, perhaps an Ephesian disciple of the former. Epaphras, visiting St. Paul in his bonds at Rome,[2] seems to have worried about certain superstitious teachings and practices that had crept in amongst the Colossian Christians. St. Paul in his Epistle combats these errors, and at the same time insists on the unity of the Church—a theme he thereupon more fully developed in the encyclical letter now called "to the Ephesians," for which Colossians seems to have served as base.

305. Errors of the Colossians.—Although the sharp Judeo-Christian controversy concerning the imposition of the Mosaic Code was a thing of the past, still the erroneous beliefs and practices current amongst the Colossians had at least a Jewish background. Their propagators vaunted a higher holiness through a stricter asceticism, "boasting of visions, bloated vainly with conceit of their flesh" (Col. 2:18). They made a point of the superstitious observance of "feasts, new-moons, and Sabbaths," and were discriminating "in food and drink" (Col. 2:16), evidently being prohibitionists who "dogmatized: 'Don't stretch out your hand for this!' 'Don't taste that!' 'Don't touch that!' " (Col. 2:21). Thus, they were a kind of Puritans whose teaching of a false asceticism "had an appearance of wisdom, through a self-chosen worship and humility and strictness towards the body—tending to stress[3] the flesh, but of no real merit" (Col. 2:23).

all who dwell therein" Instead of by name, each angel is designated by an alphabetically varied group of the Greek vowels *α*, *ε*, *η*, *ι*, *ο*, *υ*, *ω*. See Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 393 *ss.*

[2] The question whether the "Captivity Epistles" (= Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, Philemon) were written from imprisonment at Rome or at Cæsarea in Palestine, is generally decided for Rome by Catholic scripturists. For, at Rome during the *διετία* (two years' interval), St. Paul lived in his own lodgings where "he received all that came to him" (Acts 28:30), which does not seem verifiable for Cæsarea. Moreover, at the close of Philippians (4:22) greetings are sent from "the imperial household (= slaves)," and near the beginning (Phil. 1:13) the Apostle says that his case is known "to the Pretorian Guard" (= the imperial bodyguard).

[3] The sense, which is difficult to render, seems to be that these ascetic practices directed against the body may in fact serve to emphasize the "flesh," that is, draw excessive attention to and arouse the lower passions, by keeping the mind fixed on them rather than on Christ.

306. Angel-Worship.—But the outstanding theological error current amongst the Colossians was an exaggerated angel-worship (*θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων*). From the pains St. Paul takes in this Epistle to point out the preëminence of Christ over all creatures, including angels, one may conjecture that certain Colossians had placed angels on a par with Christ.[4] Hence, the Apostle insists that God "disarmed the [hostile angelic] princes and boldly showed up the powers, triumphing over them through Christ" (Col. 2:15); and that "thrones, principalities, dominations, and powers, all were created through Christ and for Him" (Col. 1:16).[5]

Against these errors, St. Paul emphasizes that Christ is the head of all creation, and man's recourse is to Him; that, as redemption was brought about through Christ and not through the Mosaic ceremonial observances, so Christians should follow the spiritual principles of the New Law and not puritanical bodily, external practices carried over from Old Testament traditions. The Colossians are to have their minds directed above to heavenly things, not downward to things of earth and the flesh (Col. 3:2). Every member of the Church, be he "Gentile or Jew, circumcized or uncircumcized, barbarian or Scythian, bond or free," is become a Christ (Col. 3:11) in soul and body.

307. The Phrase: "In Christ Jesus."—Whilst occurring often elsewhere in the Pauline writings, the phrases, "in Christ," "in Christ Jesus," "in Him," "in the Lord," are particularly frequent in Ephesians and Colossians. And their usage seems to parallel that of (and be interchangeable with) *ἐν Πνεύματι* and *ἐν τῷ Θεῷ*. What is the significance of this formula?

[4] However, it is possible, by combining the *ταπεινοφροσύνη* and *θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων* in Col. 2:18, to interpret the error as a protestation that man was too low to lift his eyes to Christ; hence, that he should invoke the angels as attainable creatures.

[5] Even as late as 363, a false angelology seems to have persisted in this district. For a Council of Laodicea of that year has in Canon 35: "It is not lawful for Christians to abandon the Church of God in order to turn away and invoke angels. If, therefore, any one be found giving himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema" (Mansi, *Concilia*, II, 598).

When similar expressions are used in the Johannine writings (John 10:38, 14:10–11; I John 4:15–16), they are based on the theological idea of the "circuminsession" of the Three Divine Persons. In St. Paul the use is analogous. In virtue of the principle of Christ's Mystical Body, Christians are conceived of as plunged or absorbed in Christ—of living and acting in and by Him in the supernatural life, as they move and exist in the physical air of their natural life.

However, at times the phrase has a lower (though still analogous) value of "Christianly, in accord with Christian principles" (Col. 3:18–20; II Cor. 2:12; Rom. 16:17, etc.), and may then be the equivalent of ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ, or "ecclesiastically." However, ἐν is also a common translation of the Semitic particle ב, with the value of "by means of," "on the strength of," or indicating the group or limits within which some thing belongs.

308. Concluding Section.—In the parenetic section of this Epistle (Col. 3:5 *ss.*) is to be found an exhortation to the members of various states or categories to fulfill their chief obligations. This list should be compared with that of Eph. 5:21—6:9, which is parallel. Slaves were evidently admitted on a par with others in the Christian assemblies.

Of those who send greetings at the close, only Epaphras seems to have been personally known to the Colossians. Archippus (Col. 4:17) may have been the presbyter of the Colossian congregation. Greetings are sent also to the neighboring Laodicean community that they may not feel slighted at receiving the other, impersonal, circular letter.

Art. 11: THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS

309. Founding of the Thessalonica Church.—On his Second Mission Journey, after having revisited and confirmed the South Galatian churches, and then gone north-west "passing through Mysia," Paul, Timothy, Silas and Luke "went down to Troas" (Acts 16:7–8), then the most convenient

seaport for embarking for Europe. There "a vision was shown to Paul in the night, which was a man of Macedonia standing and beseeching him and saying: 'Pass over into Macedonia and help us!'" (Acts 16:9).

Thereupon, the whole apostolic party boarded ship for Europe, landing at Neapolis, the seaport for Philippi, which latter was "the chief city of part of Macedonia, a [Roman] colony" (Acts 16:12). It was at Philippi that Paul and Silas were imprisoned for the cure of the divining girl, and were "beaten with rods" (Acts 16:22). After having been delivered and having said farewell to their protectress, Lydia, "they came to Thessalonica" (Acts 17:1).

At Thessalonica, St. Paul, "according to his custom" (Acts 17:2), went first to the meetings at the synagogue. For three weeks he tried to convert the Jews, "reasoning with them out of the Scriptures" in good rabbinic style. But only "some of them believed." On the other hand, the success of Paul's preaching was more notable amongst the Gentiles (Greeks and Romans); "a great multitude of proselytes and Greeks,[1] and not a few of the wives of the chief men (believed)." Amongst these converts were probably Aristarchus and Secundus, who later are bearers of the Thessalonica alms to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4; see also Acts 19:29), and also Jason, at whose house Paul stayed.

But, as usual, the Jews being jealous stirred up a riot, this time by gathering the loafers of the *agora* (market-place) into a mob to seize Paul and Silas. They bring a complaint before the *politarchs* (or city magistrates), that Paul is a revolutionary offending the *leges maiestatis* of the Roman Empire by teaching that "there is another emperor, Jesus" (Acts 17:7).[2] Thus, after not so long a stay, Paul and Silas are obliged, in order not to embarrass their hosts, to leave

[1] *A, D,* etc. insert a *καί* before Ἑλλήνων, which makes the *σεβομένων* (or "God-fearing ones," who were Gentiles affiliated with the Synagogue) a separate group (Acts 16:4).

[2] Thus, the accusation of "divided allegiance" brought by modern "hundred percenters" is nothing new. The Thessalonica authorities treat it as the subterfuge it was, being satisfied to have the assurance or "bond" of Jason and others (Acts 17:9).

Thessalonica; they went to Berea first, where Silas and Timothy remain behind, whilst Paul goes on to Athens and finally arrives at Corinth for his first stay there.

310. Occasion of I Thessalonians.—Paul was very anxious about the Thessalonians, whom he had had to leave so soon after their conversion to the Faith. It looked somewhat as if he had abandoned them—and that in the midst of a serious persecution of which he had been the innocent cause. Had they remained faithful? Were the jealous Jews perverting his newly made Christians? And did these understand the instructions he had had so little time[3] to give them? Finally, judging by the campaign of calumny raised against him at Corinth by the Jews there (Acts 18:12–13), Paul worried whether a similar procedure might not be alienating from him the Thessalonians.[4]

All these questions were answered for him upon the looked-for arrival of Silas and Timothy at Corinth (Acts 18:5), who also brought Paul alms from Macedonia. The report these brought was, on the whole, quite satisfactory. Although the Thessalonians (undoubtedly through the intrigues of the Jews) had "had to suffer from their own fellow-countrymen" the same trials as "the churches in Judea from the Jews" (I Thess. 2:15), they had stood steadfast (I Thess. 3:6–8). At this the Apostle rejoices. Moreover, the Thessalonians seem to have sent by Timothy a request for more enlightenment regarding the Second Coming of Christ and the relative position of the living and the dead on that occasion (I Thess. 4:13 and 5:1).

So, the Apostle, much relieved at the good news, immediately proceeds to write the Thessalonians from Corinth, about A.D. 51, including Timothy and Silas (= Silvanus) in its opening greetings. Hence, I Thessalonians is, after Galatians (in the hypothesis here preferred), the oldest Pauline Epistle.

[3] However, Paul must have been longer than "three sabbaths" (Acts 17:2) at Thessalonica: for during his stay there he twice received material aid from Philippi (Phil. 4:16).

[4] Paul feared that the troubles and calumnies which surged about him at Corinth would, when they came to the ears of the Thessalonians (see I Thess. 3:4), scandalize them and turn their hearts from him.

311. Content of I Thessalonians.—The letter's first part (I Thess. 1 : 2—4 : 12) consists chiefly of congratulation, thanksgiving and rejoicing that the Thessalonians have remained steadfast in the Faith. The Apostle reminds them of the signs and wonders wrought by him whilst in their midst, to offset possible scandal they might take at his present persecuted and calumniated condition. Likewise, well realizing the heathen evil practices from which these converts had so recently been weaned, he exhorts that (I Thess. 4 : 1–12) "each take care to get his own wife in holiness and decency," and not "overreach or cheat a brother in business," and that all work and keep themselves busy. There seems to have been rather a tendency to idleness and loafing amongst the Thessalonians, perhaps because they said to themselves: "The Lord's Coming is nigh. What's the use of laboring?"

But the message of I Thessalonians, as also of the shortly following second Epistle to the same congregation, was concerned mainly with the *parousia*, or Second Coming of Christ. Because of their interrelationship of topic, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians will be considered together here.

312. Secular Significance of "Parousia."—According to common usage at the time of the Apostles and for a century later, the word *parousia* (*παρουσία*) was a technical term designating the visit of the emperor (or even of a lower civil official) to an outlying city or district of the Roman empire. These "advents" of the supreme ruler in all the magnificence of imperial splendor in subject regions were always long looked and hoped for incidents in the drab and often miserable lives of the inhabitants, and great preparations were made for "the Coming," the "Being-Present." In preparation, collections of grain, etc., were made;[5] taxes were imposed to furnish decorations and garlands, etc., as well as to give a present to the ruler *ad captandam benevolentiam*. All this, of course, was done to obtain the ruler's good-will, and perhaps privileges and rewards for the district in the shape of

[5] As may be seen in a Tebtunis papyrus of 113 B.C. relative to a previous visit of Ptolemy II Soter: "We were busy day and night in order to fulfill the placarded obligation of furnishing eight *artabes* of wheat for the *parousia* of the king . . ."

Roman citizenship, exemption from tribute, or similar favors. Or perhaps the removal of an oppressing local official was hoped for. Sometimes these "Comings" inaugurated a new era in dating. Medals were struck to commemorate the event.[6] The splendor and joyful celebrations and the eager homage of the people may well be imagined. Now all these associated ideas formed the background of *parousia* as applied to Christ's coming as King into the world.

313. Apocalypse of St. Paul.—Teaching regarding the Second Advent or *parousia* of Christ at the end of time formed an important part of the message brought the world by the Apostles, including St. Paul. Although Christ's first coming had been insignificant, unknown, lowly—"in humilitate despectus," as the Muratorian Canon puts it—He was to come a second time gloriously triumphant, seated "on the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty," sending "His angels with a trumpet and a great voice to gather His chosen ones from the four winds" (Matt. 24:30–31)

This Second Coming, or the *parousia*, of Christ was much more vivid and fresh in the minds of the primitive Christians than it is for those of modern times. Jewish, and particularly Pharisaic, exegesis of the Scriptures may have had considerable influence in bringing about this state of mind. The ancient Hebrew prophets, foreshortening and "telescoping" their Messianic visions and messages, had frequently juxtaposed and combined prophecies concerning the coming of Christ as the Messias and His coming as Judge at the end of the world. Again and again during His lifetime had Christ been obliged to correct false impressions of His disciples in this matter. In His eschatologic discourses (Matt. 24:1–51; Mark 13:1–37; Luke 17:20–37) Christ was at pains to point out that a period of sorrow and suffering and trial for His followers must precede His final coming as Judge of the world, and most emphatically did He insist that "of that day and hour no man knoweth; no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone" (Matt. 24:36).

[6] Thus, a medal in honor of the *parousia* of Nero at Corinth bears the inscription: "Adventus Aug(usti) Cor(inthi)."

However, one likes to disregard prophecies of sorrow and pain, whilst messages foretelling triumph and glory vividly occupy the imagination. So was it also with the Christians of the apostolic age. Amidst their troubles and persecutions, few in number and surrounded by hosts of sneering, contemptuous heathens, they loved to imagine that soon, within their own lifetime, Christ would wondrously appear before the whole world in the glory of His *parousia,* to deliver them from their trials and confound their mocking persecutors in righteous punishment. It is true that the Scriptures and the Apostles taught that the time of the taking place of Christ's *parousia* was unknown; but whether it might be nearby or far off in time, was not declared. Hence, the wish being father to the thought, some of the earliest Christians, quite legitimately though mistakenly, imagined that the *parousia* was close at hand, just as their modern successors, for reasons of their own, prefer to think of the end of the world as lying in a distant future.

As the latter theory serves modern Christians as an excuse for being occupied beyond measure with the things of this world—they "eat and drink," saying: "The Lord is long a-coming" (Matt. 24:29)—so for certain ancient Christians the thought that Christ's *parousia* was nigh, served as an excuse for neglecting all labor and striving, and for giving themselves up to idle speculations regarding their happy condition when Christ should have made His triumphal Advent. The latter seems to have been the case with the Thessalonians. Hence, St. Paul was obliged to correct their false notions and consequent practices.

314. The Quick and the Dead.—The Thessalonians may have expected some kind of millenarian reign of Christ upon earth with His living Saints. Hence, they seem to have felt all the greater grief at the death of their relatives, since these would thus be unable to share in the joy and glory of their survivors at the time of the *parousia,* conceived of as close at hand. Hence St. Paul, intent simply upon correcting the Thessalonians' erroneous impression that their deceased might

not share in the happiness of the *parousia,* wrote as follows (I Thess. 4:13–17):

> "We do not wish, brethren, that you be uninformed in regard to those who lie [in the grave] . . . This we state to you as a teaching of the Lord: that we [even though] we remain living until the Lord's *parousia,* shall not have the advantage over those who have been lying [in the grave]; that, upon the going forth of the call, with an archangel's voice and the trumpet of God, the Lord Himself shall indeed come down from Heaven, whereupon first of all the dead shall arise, and [only] then those of us who are remaining alive shall together with them be borne aloft in clouds to meet the Lord—and thus shall we be forever with the Lord."

"But, as regards the times and the seasons" of these eschatologic events (the Apostle continues), "there is no call for our writing you. For, you yourselves know well enough that the 'Day of the Lord' shall come [unexpectedly] as a thief in the night" (I Thess. 5:1).

315. The "Parousia" in St. Paul.—When this first Epistle was read to the Thessalonian congregation, the mentioning of Christ's *parousia* seems to have aroused considerable talk and discussion in regard to the Second Coming. Perhaps, some one with the *charisma* of glossolaly repeated in ecstatic desire the enigmatic phrase *"Maranatha!* Behold, I come quickly!" (compare Apoc. 22:20; I Cor. 16:22), which is in reality rather a prayer: "Let Him come quickly!" or "May He act quickly!" This could be misunderstood as referring to the *parousia,* whereas in fact it is a plea for the spread of Christ's Kingdom, Christianity, found first in the "Our Father."

In any case, the rumor was started that the Second Coming was nigh. Some one, indeed, seems to have bolstered it up by producing a forged letter or alleging a dictum of St. Paul himself. A practical consequence of this false rumor was that some who believed it saw no use in doing any further work, but simply idled about in expectation of the Great Day (II Thess. 3:10–12). Hence, the Apostle in his next letter is quite explicit in correcting the false impression spread amongst the Thessalonians—that the *parousia* was nigh (II Thess. 2:1–2):

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"We beg you, brethren, not to be so quickly shaken in mind and disturbed concerning the *parousia* of our Lord Jesus Christ and our being gathered unto Him—not [even] by a *charisma,* or by a declaration or letter of ours, as if [we had said]: 'The Day of the Lord is at hand!'"

316. The Great Apostasy.—Thereupon the Apostle refers the Thessalonians to certain teachings he had previously given them in that connection, chief of which was the coming and activity of the Antichrist. The doctrine referred to so summarily has unfortunately not been clearly preserved in ecclesiastical tradition. Hence the detailed interpretation of what follows in St. Paul (II Thess. 2:3–4) is doubtful:

". . . as if the apostasy were not to come first, and the Man of Sin to be revealed—the son of perdition [who will be] protesting against and setting himself above everything called God or divine, to such degree that he will even seat himself in God's temple and show himself off as god. Do you not recall that, whilst I was still with you, I told you these things?"

Two things are mentioned as having to precede the *parousia:* the first is a great apostasy (ἡ ἀποστασία),[7] a falling away from the Church. Is this identifiable in history? Not with certainty. As 4th-century members of the Church might have recognized such an apostasy in the far-spread heresy of Arianism, so, with even greater reason, those of the 16th century might point to the rise and spread of Protestantism. It is not unlikely that this "great apostasy" may be conceived as cyclic, occurring with increasing virulence, like wave troughs, at succeeding periods of history, to culminate in a final almost universal catastrophe[8] (see I Tim. 4:1) followed by the Second Coming. In such an hypothesis, the "Man of Sin" in the final stage would also be, not only the

[7] The Latter Day Saints (Mormons) set this as having taken place between 313 and 337; other sects set various other dates. None seem to recognize that apostasy *from* the Church, no matter how widespread, always implies that the Church itself still continues in existence. One cannot "stand apart from" something which does not exist.

[8] This theory is followed in Robert Hugh Benson's eschatological novel, *Lord of the World,* in contrast with which stands the same writer's *Dawn of All.*

representation of a collectivity hostile to the Church, but an outstanding human individual opposed to Christ and all that Christ stands for—a personal Antichrist. This St. Thomas insinuates when he says: "Sicut omnia bona et virtutes sanctorum qui præcesserunt Christum, fuerunt figura Christi, ita in omnibus persecutionibus Ecclesiæ tyranni fuerunt quasi figura Antichristi, et latuit ibi Antichristus: et ita tota illa malitia quae latet in eis, revelabitur in tempore illo."

317. "That Which Withholdeth."—The mysterious factor delaying the advent of the final Antichrist, "that which withholdeth" (II Thess. 2:6 *ss.*), has been conjectured to be the presence or existence of the Roman governmental system.[9] So long as the ideas of justice and social order basic in the Roman Empire still persist in the world's government, the power of wickedness (which is fundamentally "lawlessness," *ἀνομία*, as opposed to *δικαιοσύνη*, or "justice," "righteousness") is restrained and hemmed in. But once these fundamental concepts of natural justice and order are denied and rejected; when the world's thought shall have become truly topsy-turvy—as when man shall be considered to exist for the State instead of the State for man—*then* the power of Evil will bring on the apogee of wickedness, an organized Antichristianity flourishing in the *thóhu-wabóhu* of eschatologic chaos of human society as a mocking caricature of the Church.[10]

318. Occasion of II Thessalonians.—It was either a forged epistle or a misinterpretation of I Thessalonians that induced

[9] Very interesting in this connection are the words of Cardinal Newman: "At this time there is a fierce struggle, the spirit of Antichrist attempting to rise, and the political power in those countries which are prophetically Roman, firm and vigorous in repressing it. . . . We actually have before our eyes . . . a fierce and lawless principle everywhere at work—a spirit of rebellion against God and man, which the powers of government in each country can barely keep under with their greatest efforts . . . this ambitious spirit, the parent of all heresy, schism, sedition, revolution, and war. At least we know from prophecy that the present framework of society and government, as far as it is representative of the Roman powers, is 'that which withholdeth,' and the Antichrist is that which will rise when this restraint falls" (*Essays*, p. 51).

[10] Already Christ's Kingdom, the Church, is as much marked by the appellative "Roman" as by that of "Catholic." One may expect that the final anti-Christian organization will be in a sense also "Catholic" or universal, but definitely opposed to anything "Roman."

St. Paul to write his next letter (just discussed) to the Thessalonian congregation in order to disabuse them of false views regarding the imminence of the *parousia.* As in the first letter, Silas (= Silvanus) and Timothy, who had been co-evangelizers of the Thessalonians, are associated with Paul in this Epistle. It was probably, like the other, written at Corinth in 50 or 51 during St. Paul's eighteen months' sojourn there. In II Thess. 3:1–2, one may see a reflection of the difficulties St. Paul had early to experience at Corinth.

This Epistle is markedly cooler in tone than its predecessor. But then St. Paul's anxiety concerning the Thessalonians' steadfastness was by now certainly allayed. The Apostle also had new worries occupying him at Corinth. Moreover, he finds it necessary to speak to them severely concerning idleness and loafing. But the earlier (I Thess. 4:3–5) warnings against impurity have apparently wrought their good effect, as the matter is not alluded to again. As a precaution against further falsification of letters as from himself, the Apostle calls attention at the close (II Thess. 3:17) to the peculiarity of his genuine signature.

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON THE "PAROUSIA" IN ST. PAUL

De Parousia seu de Secundo Adventu D.N. Iesu Christi in Epistolis S. Pauli Apostoli

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum ad solvendas difficultates quæ in epistolis S. Pauli aliorumque Apostolorum occurrunt, ubi de parousia, ut aiunt, seu de secundo adventu Domini nostri Iesu Christi sermo est, exegetæ catholico permissum sit asserere, Apostolos, licet sub inspiratione Spiritus Sancti nullum doceant errorem, proprios nihilominus humanos sensus exprimere, quibus error vel deceptio subesse possit? *Resp.* Negative.

II.—Utrum præ oculis habitis genuina muneris apostolici notione et indubia S. Pauli fidelitate erga doctrinam Magistri; dogmate item

catholico de inspiratione et inerrantia sacrarum Scripturarum, quo omne id quod hagiographus asserit, enuntiat, insinuat, retineri debet assertum, enuntiatum, insinuatum a Spiritu Sancto; perpensis quoque textibus epistolarum Apostoli, in se consideratis, modo loquendi ipsius Domini apprime consonis, affirmare oporteat Apostolum Paulum in scriptis suis nihil omnino dixisse quod non perfecte concordet cum illa temporis parousiæ ignorantia quam ipse Christus hominum esse proclamavit? *Resp.* Affirmative.

III.—Utrum attenta locutione græca: ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, perpensa quoque expositione patrum, imprimis S. Ioannis Chrysostomi, tum in patrio idiomate tum in epistolis paulinis versatissimi, liceat tamquam longius petitam et solido fundamento destitutam reiicere interpretationem in scholis catholicis traditionalem (ab ipsis quoque novatoribus sæculi XVI retentam), quæ verba S. Pauli in capite IV epistolæ primæ ad Thessalonicenses, vv. 15–17, explicat quin ullo modo involvat affirmationem parousiæ tam proximæ ut Apostolus seipsum suosque lectores adnumeret fidelibus illis qui superstites ituri sunt obviam Christo? *Resp.* Negative.

This decree was issued June 18, 1915. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis,* vol. VII (1915), p. 357.

Art. 12: FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY: EPISTLE TO TITUS

319. "Pastorals."—The two Epistles to Timothy, as well as the one to Titus, are generally grouped as the "Pastorals" of the Pauline letters, because their prime purpose is the instruction of bishops and priests in their pastoral duties, in ecclesiastical leadership and guidance. They might also be grouped for a chronological reason, that they were written at a time subsequent to St. Paul's "First Captivity." Indeed, the contemporary or recent events in St. Paul's life which are alluded to therein, are nowhere identifiable in the Acts of the Apostles (whose composition, as has been seen, was finished shortly before St. Paul's first trial and his acquittal).

320. Last Years of St. Paul.—Without the data of Acts to assist, it naturally is difficult to trace St. Paul's deeds and travels during the three or four years which elapsed between his liberation and his death. But, in the Captivity Epistles, he showed himself full of travel and evangelization plans to be carried out as soon as he should once more be free. He

expected to revisit Philippi (Phil. 2:24), and call on the congregation at Colossæ (Philem. 1:22). His plan to journey to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28), which had been frustrated by the 4–5 year period of the First Captivity, was then probably the first to be carried out. For the rest, the Pastoral Epistles give some indications of the Apostle's travels and work during this last period of his life.

According to I Tim. 1:3, St. Paul is found in Macedonia, having left Ephesus after appointing Timothy as bishop there. After having also left Titus in Crete as bishop (Tit. 1:5), the Apostle writes to him probably from somewhere in Macedonia or Epirus, as he expects to winter at Nicopolis (Tit. 3:12): the deacon Tychicus (sent to Colossæ during the First Captivity) is with him. Finally, St. Paul was at Miletus (II Tim. 4:20) and at Troas, where he left his books (II Tim. 4:13). When he writes II Timothy, he is again in chains (II Tim. 1:8). Winter is approaching (II Tim. 4:21). He feels abandoned, alone: he has sent Crescèntius into Dalmatia, Titus into Gaul (II Tim. 4:19), and the deacon Tychicus to Ephesus (II Tim. 4:12). Moreover, numbers of his old friends have forsaken him; he seems worried even about the steadfastness of Timothy (II Tim. 1:8). Lastly, he realizes that the end of his course is in sight, and his death through an iniquitous judge (II Tim. 4:6–8) close at hand. He desires someone to stand by him in the forthcoming trial (II Tim. 4:16).

321. Date of Pastorals.—All three Pastoral Epistles could possibly be assigned to the last year of St. Paul's life (67). I Timothy would seem to be the earliest, and to have been written shortly after he had come from Ephesus. Thereafter, he made a trip to Crete with Titus, leaving the latter in charge there. Later, from somewhere on the mainland, he sends the letter to Titus, possibly by Zenas and Apollo (Tit. 3:13). He appoints a rendezvous with Titus later at Nicopolis (in Thrace or in Epirus?), when Artemas or Tychicus shall have been sent to Crete as a substitute. Titus evidently did later rejoin St. Paul, and was then sent by him into Dalmatia. Artemas was probably the one sent to take Titus's

place in Crete, since Tychicus is later found with the Apostle at Rome, and was sent to call Timothy from Ephesus.

II Timothy was written when the Apostle was already a prisoner at Rome. From the news he imparts to Timothy of a shortly preceding trip, one may gather that the Apostle had been at Miletus, Troas and Corinth. Of how the Apostle's arrest came about, nothing is said. He seems to presume that Timothy is acquainted with these facts. Hence, it would seem that the arrest had taken place in Asia Minor, possibly at Ephesus itself through the vengefulness of the renegade smith, Alexander (I Tim. 1:20; II Tim. 4:14).

322. Authenticity of the Pastorals.—It has been quite the fashion to deny the Pauline authorship, in whole or in part, of the Pastorals. Some object that they refer to Gnostic heresies of the 2nd century; others, that they show the ecclesiastical hierarchy as fully developed as in the following century; others again that the language and thought are un-Pauline, and not in accord with other of Paul's Epistles. Hence, the Pastorals are classed as skillful forgeries.

If so, to what purpose? What had a forger to gain by putting out as Pauline such compositions as the Pastorals? A falsifier would surely have for his first concern to link up his fake Pauline writings with incidents and persons known from the Acts and real Pauline Epistles. Contrariwise, in fact, it is impossible to place the incidental references of the Pastorals anywhere in the historical account of Acts. A number of strange names appear in the Pastorals' allusions (such as Loïs, Eunice, Hermogenes, Hymeneus, Carpus, Eubulus, Zenas, etc.), which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. And those that are found elsewhere (such as Timothy, Titus, Tychicus, Erastus, Apollo), are here seen to be in situations quite unexpected, not connectible with the data given elsewhere concerning them. And such naïve asides as the advice to Timothy to "take a little wine" for his stomach trouble (I Tim. 5:23) [1] and to "bring the books left at

[1] The common Irish name "Timothy" reads *Thaig* in that language. It is curious that in Ireland a small drink of whiskey is still called a *thaigeen*, a "little Timothy."

Troas'' (II Tim. 4:13), are too natural and truly incidental to have originated in the mind of a forger.

The Pastorals seem to have been known to Clement of Rome,[2] to the author of the Epistle of Barnabas[3] (96–98), to Ignatius,[4] and to Polycarp.[5] St. Ireneus (about 185) names St. Paul as the author of texts taken from the Pastorals,[6] as do also Clement of Alexandria (died 217),[7] Origen (185–254),[8] and Tertullian.[9] Moreover, the Old Latin and Syriac versions contain the Pastorals as inspired writings, and as such they are also enumerated in the Muratorian Canon.

323. Errors Combated.—No clear reference to Gnosticism has been demonstrated in the Pastorals, nothing that would check up definitely with the Gnostic heresies analyzed by St. Ireneus towards the close of the 2nd century. Indeed, the errors combated by the Pastorals have rather a Judaistic tinge, as Pope notes: ''The 'fables and genealogies without end' are spoken of as the work of men 'desirous to be teachers of the Law' (I Tim. 1:4–7), who are further specified as 'especially they of the circumcision' (Tit. 1:10); their 'fables' are 'Jewish' (Tit. 1:14) and their 'strivings are about the Law' (Tit. 3:9).''[10] It should be noted also that the bulk of this erroneous teaching (or rather: talking) is condemned by St. Paul, not as definitely heretical (as which he would certainly have characterized the Gnostic doctrines), but simply as frivolous, foolish disputations (Titus 3:9), with which a bishop should not waste time. For formal heretics much sharper action is indicated (I Tim. 1:19–20; Tit. 3:10–11).

[2] Compare *I Clem.*, XXIX, 1, with I Tim. 2:8; *I Clem.*, II, 7, with Tit. 3:10.

[3] Compare *Barn.*, XII, 10, with I Tim. 3:16.

[4] Compare Ignatius, *Ad Trallen.*, III, with Tit. 2:3; *Ad Magn.*, VIII, with I Tim. 1:4.

[5] Compare Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, V. 2, and IV, 1, with I Tim. 3:8–11.

[6] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, II, 14, 7; III, 111, 3–4, etc.

[7] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, II, 11.

[8] Origen, *In. Matth.*, cxvii.

[9] Tertullian, *De Præscript.*, VI, XXV.

[10] Pope, *Aids to the Study of the Bible* (New York, 1923), III, p. 224.

324. Hierarchy in Pastorals.—As regards the hierarchy, it is but to be expected that Epistles written about the close of St. Paul's missionary activity, at a time when many a Christian community had been in existence and functioning for from ten to fifteen years, should give evidence of a definitely arranged organization and government in the Church —all the more since these Epistles professedly instruct community heads in their duties.

Even here, however, the Pastorals clearly bespeak their apostolic antiquity in this, that they do not yet make a sharp and clear distinction between the presbyters or priests and the bishops. St. Paul uses the terms ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι synonymously, as Acts had already done (compare Acts 20:17 with 20:28). Thus, Titus is ordered to "set up *presbyters* in the various towns" (Tit. 1:5), and immediately the Apostle goes on to outline the qualifications of a candidate for that office, saying: "A *bishop* as God's steward must be irreprehensible, etc." (Tit. 1:7). Everywhere in the Pastorals the qualifications demanded for πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι are identical.

It is not only in the Pastorals, but elsewhere also, that St. Paul uses the terms "presbyter" and "bishop" interchangeably. The Epistle to the Philippians is addressed by him to the "bishops and deacons" (Phil. 1:1). At Miletus, St. Paul had the "presbyters" of Ephesus fetched, and then in his farewell speech addresses them: "Take heed to . . . the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you *bishops* . . ." (Acts 20:17, 28). Now a plurality of real bishops governing the same city is unheard of. The obvious conclusion is that in the Christian communities founded by St. Paul there were no real resident bishops, but only presbyter-bishops. This is confirmed by the fact that all ordinations and appointments seem to be performed by St. Paul himself, or by some one directly empowered from him, as were Timothy and Titus. St. Paul himself seems to have continued as the "Ordinary" for these communities. Hence his often manifested anxiety in their regard, his frequent letters, his sending messengers to them. The term "Apostle"

used nine times in the openings of the Pauline Epistles, may be an expression of St. Paul's episcopal prerogative.

In the Pauline communities, then, there do not seem to have been resident bishops. St. Paul himself continued to exercise jurisdiction over them as bishop. Sometimes he would send, or leave, one of his companions (like Timothy and Titus) to take charge as his coadjutors—literally "Apostolic Delegates." But even these do not seem to have had a permanent position in their districts, since Titus (Tit. 3:12) is to leave Crete *ad nutum* for Nicopolis, and is in fact later found in Dalmatia (II Tim. 4:10). A little later, St. Paul does not hesitate to call Timothy from Ephesus to Rome (II Tim. 4:21). The Pauline churches themselves were governed by councils of presbyter-bishops, under the watchful eye of the Apostle.[11]

325. Summary of I Timothy.—St. Paul reminds his beloved disciple, Timothy, that he has been appointed coadjutor at Ephesus largely to repress frivolous and foolish Judaizing teachers, who were busy with genealogical lists and Old Testament practices, instead of Christian virtue and doctrine. The Old Testament injunctions are not for Christians, who, as it were, automatically observe the Decalogue. This is practically only for the godless, that their conscience may be thereby aroused (I Tim. 1:3–10). This is what Paul has ever taught; to this his disciple is to cling (I Tim. 1:11–19).

Timothy is admonished that prayers be offered for all men, particularly for the civil authorities, that Christians may practise their religion in peace. Since he is speaking of the liturgical service, the Apostle gives instructions for the conduct of men and women thereat (I Tim. 2:1–12).

Then follow lists of the qualifications to be demanded of ordinands to priesthood and deaconship (I Tim. 3:1–12). The chief points of the Faith are summed up in what may be a citation from a primitive Christian hymn (I Tim. 4:16). In contrast thereto, St. Paul calls Timothy's attention to the

[11] The lists of qualifications given in I Tim. 3:1–7 and Tit. 1:6–9, are consequently to be read as applying primarily to *priests* in the modern sense, rather than as restricted to bishops. The specific duties of bishops are detailed elsewhere in the Pastorals.

character of some of the erroneous teachings that might soon be expected to be propagated, such as denouncing marriage and prohibiting certain foods (I Tim. 4:1–5). These Timothy is to forestall in his teaching. Admonitions as to his general conduct follow (I Tim. 4:6–16).

Then come special counsels as to how Timothy is to handle the various classes of the faithful—old men, widows, priests, slaves (I Tim. 5:1—6:2). Again Timothy is admonished to avoid frivolous dissertations, not to use his position for acquiring money, to stick to the plain teachings of the Faith (I Tim. 6:3–16). As an afterthought, apparently, comes a counsel as to how to deal with the wealthy (I Tim. 6:17–19).

326. Epistle to Titus.—There are many remarkable parallels to be found between the Epistle to Titus and I Timothy —much the same counsels and rules to cover similar functions. The errors and shortcomings to be combated seem also to have originated from similar Judaizing teachers, concerned chiefly with the minutiæ and hygienic prescriptions of the Old Testament. In contrast to these, Titus is to emphasize the need of leading a plainly honest and pious life. In the note at the close (Tit. 3:13), one is not surprised to find the learned Apollo, skilled in the Old Testament (Acts 18:24), traveling with "Zenas the lawyer." Men of this type might be expected to have something to do with the fine-spun Jewish speculations and Old Testament interpretations against which the Apostle has been warning Timothy and Titus. But these two are evidently in good standing. Perhaps, they had been sent by St. Paul to combat the false teachings of other Old Testament expositors.

327. Second Epistle to Timothy.—This is St. Paul's last testament, as it were. He writes in the terrible straits of his final imprisonment. He is downcast, miserable, and withal worried somewhat about Timothy's steadfastness. Besides suffering the discomforts and terrors of imprisonment and the expectation of an unfavorable trial, the Apostle is depressed because amongst the Christians also his reputation has fallen into disrepute—at least with some. There is no earthly consolation left him, only the thought of heavenly reward. He

would exhort Timothy, too, to be strong to bear sufferings, to cling firmly to the old teaching he had received from Paul. False teachers are beginning to abound—and this is but what was foretold for the "last days" (II Tim. 3:1; compare Matt. 24:11–12).

The Apostle feels abandoned in his captivity. He was, he complains, left to appear all alone before the tribunal on the occasion of his former trial (ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου ἀπολογίᾳ, II Tim. 4:16);[12] nevertheless, he was "delivered from 'the Lion's' mouth" so that he might continue to fulfill his meed of evangelization, and that all Gentiles might hear him. So now, he would like to have Timothy and Mark by his side (II Tim. 4:11). This time the Apostle expects to be saved also, but, instead of physically, spiritually: "into His heavenly Kingdom."

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON PAULINE PASTORALS

De Auctore, de Integritate, et de Compositionis Tempore Epistolarum Pastoralium Pauli Apostoli

Propositis pariter sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum præ oculis habita Ecclesiæ traditione inde a primordiis universaliter firmiterque perseverante, prout multimodis ecclesiastica monumenta vetusta testantur, teneri certo debeat epistolas quæ pastorales dicuntur, nempe ad Timotheum utramque et aliam ad Titum, non obstante quorumdam hæreticorum ausu, qui eas utpote suo dogmati contrarias, de numero paulinarum epistolarum, nulla reddita causa, eraserunt, ab ipso Apostolo Paulo fuisse conscriptas et inter genuinas et canonicas perpetuo recensitas? *Resp.* Affirmative.

II.—Utrum hypothesis sic dicta *fragmentaria*, a quibusdam recentioribus criticis invecta et varie proposita, qui, nulla ceteroquin

[12] Some scripturists would have this πρώτη ἀπολογία refer to a preliminary phase of St. Paul's final trial. But the succeeding allusion to a completion of evangelization would seem to fit better as a reference to the Apostle's wide missionary activity subsequent to his acquittal in the first trial.

probabili ratione, immo inter se pugnantes, contendunt epistolas pastorales posteriori tempore ex fragmentis epistolarum sive ex epistolis paulinis deperditis, ab ignotis auctoribus fuisse contextas et notabiliter auctas, perspicuo et firmissimo traditionis testimonio aliquod vel leve præiudicium inferre possit? *Resp.* Negative.

III.—Utrum difficultates quæ multifariam obiici solent sive ex stylo et lingua auctoris, sive ex erroribus præsertim Gnosticorum, qui uti iam tunc serpentes describuntur, sive ex statu ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ, quæ iam evoluta supponitur, aliæquæ huiuscemodi in contrarium rationes, sententiam quæ genuinitatem epistolarum pastoralium ratam certamque habet, quomodolibet infirment? *Resp.* Negative.

IV.—Utrum, cum non minus ex historicis rationibus quam ex ecclesiastica traditione, Ss. Patrum orientalium et occidentalium testimoniis consona, necnon ex indiciis ipsis quæ tum ex abrupta conclusione libri Actuum tum ex paulinis epistolis Romæ conscriptis et præsertim ex secunda ad Timotheum facile eruuntur, uti certa haberi debeat sententia de duplici romana captivitate apostoli Pauli; tuto affirmari possit epistolas conscriptas esse in illo temporis spatio quod intercedit inter liberationem a prima captivitate et mortem Apostoli? *Resp.* Affirmative.

This decision was issued June 12, 1913. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis,* vol. V (1913), p. 292.

Art. 13: THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON

328. Addressee.—Philemon is legitimately conjectured to have been a citizen of Colossæ, since with him in the address is mentioned Archippus—elsewhere (Col. 4:17) found as head of the Colossæ congregation. Philemon was evidently well-to-do and generous, his house serving as an assembly place for the local Christians.[1] From the fact that St. Paul speaks of "hearing" of Philemon's "faith in Christ" (Philem. 1:5), one may conclude that the latter was not a convert of the Apostle's. Nor is it clear that they were personally ac-

[1] This does not necessarily mean that Philemon's house served as the church for the whole Colossian parish. There is no indication that this letter also was intended for the whole Colossian Christian community, which received a special Epistle at about the same time. Philemon's may have been a country estate at some distance from the city proper, and house devotions may have been carried on there somewhat as they are in outlying Chinese missions. See *The Ecclesiastical Review,* September, 1927, pp. 292–295.

quainted, for St. Paul's composition displays a very careful, almost formal wording, despite its apparent intimacy.[2]

329. Onesimus.—A pagan slave of Philemon's named Onesimus (= "the useful one") had run away, after having robbed or defrauded his master somehow. His flight was probably due to his fear of punishment. This Onesimus had sought safety at Rome by losing himself in the turmoil of that world-metropolis. Perhaps in his master's house, he had formerly heard of the great Paul. Having learned of the Apostle's presence at Rome, he may have sought his intercession to effect a return to Colossæ and Philemon. Anyhow, Paul baptized him and instructed him to return to his master, giving him the note known as the "Epistle to Philemon" to insure his being taken back into favor. Onesimus made the return journey in company with the deacon, Tychicus (Col. 4:9).

330. St. Paul's Tact.—It was a delicate matter St. Paul had to handle, this return of a runaway slave to a justifiably irate master. First of all, Onesimus, as long as he remained a pagan, may have felt himself free of any further duty or worry relative to his master, now that he had escaped. But, on his becoming a Christian, the rights of that master again had to be considered. Onesimus had an obligation of conscience, of restitution at least of damages, if not of himself. To fulfill this obligation, he ran the risk of being branded on the forehead or condemned for the rest of his life to the tedious labor of turning a great stone mill.

St. Paul, whatever he may have thought of the institution of slavery, was not a revolutionary bent on overturning the social order of his time. And, in that social order, Onesimus was legally bound to his master. Nay, so delicate was St. Paul's conscience regarding legal property rights that he insisted on Onesimus's return, even though he "would have liked to keep him by himself . . . for the sake of his services in his chains" (Philem. 1:13)—to which Philemon might easily be presumed to agree. But the Apostle would not, as

[2] However, note Philem. 1:17: "If thou considerest me thy companion."

it were, force the hand of Philemon on that point, desiring his good work to be unmistakably voluntary (Philem. 1:14). In short, St. Paul recognizes the legal claims of Philemon, while at the same time he requests the latter in every way not to press them to their harsh extreme. Nay, most delicately he insinuates that the master, now that his slave is a fellow-Christian, abolish these artificial legal claims by giving Onesimus his manumission (Philem. 1:20–21).

331. Thought Sequence.—Blunt and brusk is the language of St. Paul in many places in his Epistles. But in that to Philemon he shows all the tact and finesse of an accomplished diplomat handling a delicate case. First of all, he avoids any direct command, although he reminds Philemon that he has the power to do so "in Christ" (Philem. 1:8). He even leaves off his official title of "Apostle" in the address, referring to himself simply as "a prisoner for Christ's sake." Deftly he enlists on his side the good-will of Philemon's wife, Appia, of the presbyter Archippus, and of Philemon's friends. Then he admits that he is simply begging as for a personal favor: "Wherefore, I . . . yea I, old Paul, now even a prisoner for Christ, beseech you rather for friendship's sake. I plead with you for a son engendered in my chains—Onesimus, once useless [3] to you, now useful to both you and myself" (Philem. 1:11). The Apostle goes on, handling his Greek easily with real Attic cleverness: "Perhaps he [providentially] thus left you momentarily just so that you might receive him back for ever—and not just as a slave, but as a beloved brother; to me above all; to you, much the more so [being bound to you], by both his body and Christ" (Philem. 1:15–16). That sentence would delight any keen rhetorical Greek mind with its charming antitheses and subtle crescendo of argumentation!

And who will say that St. Paul lacked humor? Jokingly, he proceeds to go Onesimus's bond, making out a mock-formal document (Philem. 1:17–19): "If he has done you any damage or owes you something—charge it to me. I, Paul,

[3] The Apostle is playing on the significance of the word, Onesimus, "the useful one."

sign this with my own hand. I'll stand good for it—without even reminding you that you in your own person may be a debtor to me!'' After the gentle hint that he expects Philemon to give the slave his freedom, the Apostle adds again jokingly: ''At the same time, you might get a lodging ready for me'' (Philem. 1:22).

332. Ancient Slavery.—St. Thomas has well said of this Epistle, that herewith the Apostle ''instruxit dominos temporales,'' as he gave direction to ecclesiastical masters and leaders in the Pastorals. Slavery was quite a normal social institution in all the ancient world. And, as such, it was not to be abolished by the fulmination of a forthright decree. That would only have provoked even greater evils—revolt in the state, cessation of business with accompanying famine and suffering, the destruction of the educated, aristocratic and bourgeois classes, and years of civil war. The abolition of slavery had to be the natural outgrowth of, and wait upon the flowering and fruiting of Christian principles accepted by the majority of society. Thus, in fact, slavery did vanish gradually and not slowly either, though almost insensibly, in Christian Europe. The hard chill ice of the ancient social order which could not be broken by the most powerful pick and blow, melted easily later under the mild, silent rays of the sun of Christian charity. No, St. Paul was not cowardly, but only ''prudent as a serpent'' (Matt. 10:16) in handling the problem of slavery so tactfully and delicately, whilst at other times he was so brusquely outspoken and commanding in attacking and destroying more definitely personal wrong theories and practices.

333. Modern Application.—As a formally recognized institution, slavery practically passed with paganism. But its equivalent in false relationship between capital and labor still remains a problem in the world. As the slave of old was denied the right of bargaining individually with his master, so the laborers of today are often still denied the right to bargain collectively with their employers. Nay, legally labor may sometimes still be reduced practically to a servile condition. In dealing with these problems, the Church—whilst

asserting the principle of true liberty, fraternity and equality among men, as frankly and clearly as St. Paul in other Epistles—does well in practice to follow the gentle tactful prudence of St. Paul in the case of Philemon and Onesimus. What St. Paul has laid down (in Eph. 6:5–9, Col. 3:22—4:1) as rules governing the mutual conduct of masters and slaves, may be read in modern days with equal applicability by simply substituting for those terms the words "employers" and "employees." And to them may be added as a fundamental keynote for social contentment the text of I Cor. 7:20–24: "Let every one remain in the class in which he finds himself. Are you a slave? Do not take it ill; if you can get to be free, be even more serviceful! For, the slave who is such christianly, is a freedman to the Lord—and oppositely by paradox, he who is a freeman by class is a slave of Christ. Never become slaves of mere men!"

Art. 14: THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

334. Addressees and Purpose.—Not only who the addressees are, but also who is the author and the writer and what the date of Hebrews, are points much disputed. A considerable group favors the theory that this Epistle was addressed to the Roman Christian community, or at least to its Jewish members.[1] Without discussing this theory, the present study will proceed on the at least equally probable hypothesis that Hebrews was written primarily for the Jerusalem community of Christians to keep them from reverting to the Mosaic cult. This hypothesis is adopted, because it seems to fit in best with the conditions which appear to form the background and occasion for the letter. It would accord also with the fact that the canonicity and Pauline authenticity of Hebrews was generally upheld by the Oriental Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries, whilst Rome and the Western

[1] Amongst Catholic scripturists Pope seems to incline to this view in his *Catholic Student's Aids to the Study of the Bible* (ed. 1923), vol. III, p. 257. A grave difficulty in this theory is the fact that Jews never were a predominant factor in the Roman church.

writers were divided and uncertain on these points. A letter destined for Palestinian Christians would naturally be at first more widely known in the East than in the West.

335. Hellenists Prominent at Jerusalem.—The Jerusalem Christian community was from the beginning naturally composed mainly, if not exclusively, of Jews. But not all of these could speak Aramaic. In fact, so many of the Jews at Jerusalem could speak only Greek (the Ἑλληνισταί or "Hellenists") that, even in Christ's time, special synagogues were provided for them where they might hear the Old Testament expounded in their own tongue, Greek (Acts 2:8–11; 6:9). Numbers of these Hellenists were amongst the three thousand converts of Pentecost day, who formed the nucleus of the Jerusalem church. So numerous, even at Jerusalem, were the Hellenist Judeo-Christians that they demanded and obtained special attention in the care of their widows. Indeed, the seven deacons appointed upon their complaint all bore distinctively Hellenistic and not Palestinian names (Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Timon, etc.). Other persons too, who were prominent in the Jerusalem church bore such Hellenistic names as John-Mark, Joseph-Justus (Barsabas), and Silas-Silvanus. Thus, it may be safe to conjecture that a great part, if not the majority, of the Jerusalem Judeo-Christian community understood Greek, and some, if not many, could not understand Aramaic. This explains why Hebrews was written in Greek rather than in Aramaic.

336. Conditions of Jerusalem Community.—Now these Judeo-Christians of the Jerusalem community attended and were impressed by the Jewish Temple service. They were "daily with one accord *in the Temple* . . . praising God and *having favor with all the people*" (Acts 2:46–47). This was early (about 33), but there is no indication that these customs ceased during the forty-odd years that the Temple still remained standing at Jerusalem. As late as A.D. 58, St. Paul himself still recognized and participated in the Temple rites (Acts 21:23–26). It was undoubtedly this conforming to Jewish customs that in general conciliated the unconverted Jews of Jerusalem, and kept them from persecuting further

their Christian brethren. Yet, this conformity was after all a compromise, a concession to Jewish national sensibilities. It could not continue forever without a challenge, especially since the numerous non-Jewish Christians understood clearly the futility and further uselessness of the Mosaic ritual.

337. A Break with Temple Authorities.—But so long as the venerable James the Less, the ἀδελφόθεος or "brother of the Lord" (who as a perpetual Nazarite had special privileges in the Temple, and in exactness of Jewish observance put to shame even the Pharisees) remained at the head of the Jerusalem Christian community, no such crisis arose. But about A.D. 62, a significant change seems to have taken place in the hitherto generally peaceful relationships between the Jerusalem Christians and the unconverted Jews. Jealous of the reputation and influence of James "the Just" and exasperated by the conversions he effects amongst the Jews, the "Scribes and Pharisees" invite James publicly to dissuade the people from acknowledging the Messianic dignity of Jesus.[2] Being set for this purpose upon "the pinnacle of the Temple," the revered Bishop of Jerusalem, instead of persuading the people to apostasy, proclaims aloud the Second Coming of Christ upon the clouds of heaven. The enraged Pharisees hurl down the courageous Apostle who, still living, is thereupon stoned, until finally a fuller batters out his life with the mallet of his trade. "Populi autem cum omni honore sepelierunt eum ibi iuxta Templum, *credentes in Christum filium Dei vivi,*" says the Chartres MS. of the *Passio S. Iacobi.*

It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that in connection with this event the Jerusalem Christians, now cowed and deprived of their leader and protector of so many years, were offered an alternative like the following by the Temple authorities: Deny Christ, or you may no longer participate in the Temple services! This would indeed have been a pitiless dilemma. Over against it, "God's word," the belief they had accepted, would indeed prove "sharper than any two-

[2] See Abel, "La Sépulture de Saint Jacques le Mineur," in *Revue Biblique*, July–October, 1919, pp. 480–499.

edged sword, cutting keen even to the separation of soul and spirit (= natural and national affection and religious conviction), of bone and marrow'' (Heb. 4:12).

338. Ananus the Highpriest.—Indeed Heb. 4:15 and 5:1–2 seems to imply a contrast between Christ as Highpriest and some Jewish highpriest who ''could not sympathize with our weaknesses,'' who refused to ''offer gifts and sacrifices for sins.'' Likewise, Heb. 5:4–5 seems to refer to a highpriest who had ''seized the honor for himself,'' that he should ''become highpriest.'' This may be compared with Josephus's remarks on Ananus the Younger, who ''took the highpriesthood'' and ''was a bold man in his temper and very insolent.'' He also was ''of the sect of the Sadducees who are very rigid in judging offenders above the rest of the Jews.'' After the death of the Roman procurator Festus, and taking advantage of the interim before the arrival of Albinus, this stern Ananus cited before the Sanhedrin ''the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ, whose name was James, and some of his companions. . . . He delivered them to be stoned.'' [3] It is easy to see that this rabid, pitiless Sadducee, more intolerant than even the Pharisees, would strive to make the Christian Jews apostatize, or at least would forbid their attending the Temple services.

339. Hebrews' Indications of Addressees.—Close scanning of the text of this Epistle seems to bring out that the addressees of Hebrews faced some such crisis as that indicated above, and that after a lengthy period during which they had gone on undisturbed. They appear to have been wavering between attending the beloved and magnificent, impressive Temple service, and continuing to acknowledge Christ as the Messias.

They had long been Christians. For, ''according to time,'' they ''should already be *teachers.*'' Yet, they have ''become as such that need milk rather than strong meat,'' for whom one has to begin again with ''the original simple basic doc-

[3] See Josephus, *Antiquities,* XX, ix, 1. The same author notes how, about this time, the splendor of the Temple was enhanced by the completion of certain building improvements, and how the Levites received the privilege of wearing sacerdotal vestments.

trines" (Heb. 5:12). They should, nevertheless, look back upon "the going out of the life work" of their "leaders who spoke to them the word of God" (Heb. 13:7). This might refer to the early persecution and the death of James Zebedee and Stephen, if not to the more recent martyrdom of James the Less, the Jerusalem bishop.

Those addressed, however, "have not yet resisted unto blood" against apostasy (Heb. 12:5), although some of their fellows are "imprisoned and maltreated" (Heb. 13:3), whom they are to succor. They themselves presently do not seem to be directly oppressed, although in "the earlier days," shortly after their conversion and baptism, they too "had borne many a struggle of sufferings" and "had been either themselves made spectacles of in chains and insults, or at least companions of such as suffered these" (Heb. 10:32–33). They then even bore joyfully "the robbery of [their] goods." All this could well be a typically Pauline persecution reference[4] to that primitive Christian period, when he himself "made havoc of the Church, entering in from house to house and dragging away men and women, committing them to prison" (Acts 8:3; 9:2). The later Herodian persecution did not reach thus down into the rank and file of Jerusalem Christians, but was content with the apprehension of such leaders as James Zebedee and Peter (Acts 12:1–2).

Another feature notable in Hebrews is, that there is not a direct, almost violent attack (as, for example, in Galatians) upon the valuelessness of the Jewish ceremonial practices. This valuelessness, whose open declaration is elsewhere so prominent in the Pauline writings, is here only delicately insinuated and implied by the stress laid on *faith* (as in Heb. 11:1—12:2). Such tactful handling would seem necessary and appropriate only in the case of the Jerusalem Judeo-Christians.[5] Some of these had already "given up attending

[4] St. Paul, in his speeches and Epistles elsewhere, frequently reminds his hearers and readers of how he was early a persecutor of Christians.

[5] Incidentally, it may be remarked that on this point St. Paul had been much more outspoken earlier in the Epistle to the Romans. The tactful reticence of the later Hebrews, therefore, does not fit well with the hypothesis that it was addressed to the Judeo-Christians at Rome.

their own assemblies'' (Heb. 10:25) to take part in other parallel ones, namely those of synagogues and the Temple. Like Esau, they were foregoing their Christian birthright ''for a single meal'' (Heb. 12:16), namely of the Temple sacrifices. They are getting to be ashamed of Christ. Therefore, this Epistle endeavors to persuade them to make the proper choice between the Aaronic priesthood and the Melchisedech priesthood, which is Christ's (Heb. 5:10 *ss.*). In fine, its addressees are begged to ''go out of the camp'' (that is, the whole circle of Jewish observances), and ''bear the shame'' with Christ who typically Himself suffered ''outside the camp'' (Heb. 13:12–13).

In the assumed theory, then, Hebrews is addressed to the Jerusalem Judeo-Christians to keep them from going back to Judaism at a time when they were tempted to the latter through affection for the grandeur of the Temple ritual. This could scarcely have been before the death of St. James the Less (A.D. 62), the great Jerusalem bishop, but was probably shortly afterwards. St. Paul had only recently been liberated at Rome. In Palestine, the interregnum before Albinus's arrival gave a chance for the Temple authorities to persecute their Christian confrères.

340. The Hagiographic Author.—Regarding the composition of Hebrews, the best and commonest opinion may still be expressed in the words of Origen (died about 254): ''The thoughts are those of the Apostle (= Paul), but the diction and phraseology are those of some one [else] who remembered the apostolic teachings and wrote down at leisure what had been said by his teacher.''[6] Whilst admitting this distinction, the Oriental Fathers and ecclesiastical writers are practically unanimous in maintaining that St. Paul is the hagiographer to whom the human authorship of Hebrews is to be ascribed. Thus, the opinion of Clement of Alexandria (died about 217) is ''that the Epistle to the Hebrews is the work of Paul,'' although he adds: ''It was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, but Luke translated it carefully and

[6] In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 25.

published it for the Greeks."[7] St. Cyril of Jerusalem states that St. Paul left *fourteen* Epistles, which number would necessarily include Hebrews. St. Epiphanius mentions that some MSS. set this Epistle in the tenth place, some in the *fourteenth*. In short, the Greek Church generally, with the Council of Antioch (264) and that of Laodicea (390), Gregory Thaumaturgus, Isidore of Pelusium, St. Basil and his brother Gregory, St. John Chrysostom and even Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Syriac group of the Peshitto and St. Ephrem—all ascribe the authorship of Hebrews to the Apostle St. Paul.

341. Occidental Tradition.—The Muratorian Canon and the Presbyter Caius admit only thirteen Pauline Epistles. Tertullian[8] attributes Hebrews to Barnabas. St. Jerome records the division of opinion in the Occident: "This Epistle, which bears the title 'To the Hebrews,' is not only received as St. Paul's by the Churches of the Orient, but by all the older Greek ecclesiastical writers, though indeed many think it is to be attributed to Barnabas or Clement." The Canon of the Council of Hippo (397) reads: "Pauli epistolæ XIII, eiusdem ad Hebræos, una." Amongst the Latins, the following are found unreservedly for Pauline authenticity: St. Hilary. St. Ambrose, Faustinus, Rufinus, Lucifer of Cagliari. In his later writings, St. Augustine hesitates, as when saying: ". . . in Epistola ad Hebræos, quam plures Apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam autem negant."[9] However, from the fifth century on, the ecclesiastical writers of the Occident are also in accord for the Pauline authenticity of Hebrews.

The question of the Pauline authenticity of Hebrews must carefully be kept distinct from that of its canonicity. Hebrews is canonic and inspired, even if the hagiographer be considered some one other than St. Paul.

342. The Style of Hebrews.—It is now universally admitted amongst scripturists that Hebrews is not from St. Paul's hand or dictation in the same manner as is, for example,

[7] Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes,* cited in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* VI, 14, 1, 4; see also 13, 5, and III, 38.

[8] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia,* XX: "There is extant an Epistle to the Hebrews under the name of Barnabas."

[9] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei,* XLI, 500; XVI, 22.

Romans. Although the thought is quite unmistakably Pauline,[10] the language and style are too un-Pauline to be ascribed to that Apostle. Hebrews contains the best Greek in the New Testament, being generally superior even to St. Luke's work in this regard. In contrast with the irregular, abrupt, jerky, halting and turgid, and then again precipitous style to be noted as characteristic of the other Pauline writings, Hebrews runs along quite smoothly and correctly, with a far greater approximation to proper Greek periodic construction. There is one contrast which strikingly shows a different literary worker: that is in the manner in which the Old Testament is cited. Not even once does the writer of Hebrews use for this purpose γέγραπται (it is written), which is the stereotyped formula most common elsewhere in the Pauline writings. A few specimens of citation formulas are here given for comparison:

In Hebrews	In Other Paulines
εἶπεν (twice)	γέγραπται (27 times)
καὶ πάλιν (5 times)	λέγει ἡ Γραφή (6 times)
λέγει (11 times)	γράφει (once)
εἴρηκε (5 times)	διὸ λέγει (twice)
ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι (once)	λέγει (8 times)
προείρηται (once)	καὶ πάλιν (twice)

Moreover, it is noteworthy that in the other Pauline writings the Old Testament is generally cited loosely from memory, and frequently several texts are fused. In Hebrews, the citations are word for word, as if copied from the book, and at times are quite lengthy (as in Heb. 2:6–8; 8:8–12). Finally, the writer of Hebrews invariably follows the Septuagint, even where it differs notably from the Hebrew (cfr. Heb. 1:6; 10:5–7; 12:5–6, etc.).

343. The Redactor of Hebrews.—These notable divergences in style and language were early noted, and ecclesiasti-

[10] As explained in this *Scripture Manual*, I, pp. 5, 11, it is the origin of thoughts, not that of the language, which eventually determines who is to be called the author of a literary composition.

cal writers even then made guesses at who the writer or redactor of Hebrews might have been. The names of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, and Luke were variously proposed of old.[11] If the external evidence were deciding, the name of Barnabas might be considered. It will be recalled that he was a Cyprian Jew. Belser conjectures Apollo,[12] who is not mentioned by the ancients. In his favor might be adduced the fact that he was a skillful speaker whose style charmed the rhetorically sensitive Corinthians, in contrast with St. Paul's clumsy speech. Moreover, he was an adept in Scripture argument, and in this Hebrews evinces the hand of an expert. Again, the influence of Alexandrian schools is seen by some in the reference to "the Word of God" in Heb. 4:12, 11:3 (alluding to Gen. 1:3–4); likewise in the exegesis of "the Holy Place" and "the Holy of Holies" in a typical sense. It will be recalled that Apollo was from Alexandria (Acts 18:24). If it were verified that Apollo was the composer of Hebrews, one might hazard a guess that he also was the bearer of the letter, and that St. Paul's order to Titus: "The lawyer Zenas and Apollo you are to equip well for the trip" (Titus 3:13), would refer to their further journey to Jerusalem with this Epistle, after they had gone aside to Crete to deliver the letter to Titus. In that hypothesis also, the imprisonment of Timothy alluded to in Heb. 13:23 would have been subsequent to the writing of I Timothy, and might possibly have taken place at Ephesus. All this, however, has but conjectural value.

344. Internal Pauline Indications.—As has already been mentioned, the thought substance of Hebrews is thoroughly Pauline. Thus, the Scripture references, although more abundant and more widely developed, yet scarcely exceed the

[11] The theory that St. Paul himself originally wrote Hebrews in Aramaic or Hebrew, and that the canonic text is a skillful translation of this original, is hardly probable. The text of Hebrews betrays no Semitic original which it might have been following. Its smoothly running Greek periods, with parts so well interconnected, should show more trace of the staccato short successive Semitic phrasing.

[12] As an exegetic curiosity may be mentioned Harnack's conjecture that Hebrews was composed by Priscilla and Aquila (Rom. 16:3–5), and rather by Priscilla, because forsooth Hebrews has a feminine tone.

Pauline routine group. Thus Ps. 2:7: "Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee" (Heb. 1:5; 5:5), is used by St. Paul in addressing Jews at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:33). A favorite and prominent Pauline preachment is that Christians form the spiritual edifice or building of the Church:

"(You are) built up upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, with Christ Jesus Himself as the cornerstone—the whole building being firmly knit together by this, rises in the Lord as a holy temple, wherein you too through the Spirit are built up as a dwelling place of the Divinity" (Eph. 2:20–22).

"You are a divine building (Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε). . . . I have laid the foundation: another builds thereupon. Let each one take care how he builds upon it! No one can set a foundation other than that which has been laid—Christ Jesus . . . Know you not that you are God's temple?" (I Cor. 3:9–17).

Compare these passages with Heb. 3:2–6:

"Christ is to be considered of higher dignity than Moses, just as the builder of a house (is of higher dignity than he who merely administers it). Now Moses was, as it were, a faithful attendant in God's house: but Christ, a son in His own house—which house we are (οὗ οἶκός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς)."

Further thought parallels between Hebrews and the other Pauline Epistles are too numerous to be detailed here. They may be examined by studying the cross-references given in several excellent text editions.[13]

Lastly, certain specifically epistolary details are characteristically like those found in the other Pauline letters. There are near the close the same special exhortations to charity and virtuous acts (Heb. 13:1–9, 16–17). There is the plea for prayer for the author and the Pauline protestation of personal innocence (Heb. 13:18), as well as the expression of desire to see again those to whom he writes. There is the plan to travel with Timothy, Paul's usual companion (Heb. 13:23). There are the customary greetings.[14] Finally, there

[13] St. Peter's allusion to an Epistle which "our beloved brother Paul wrote you" (II Pet. 3:15), may possibly be a reference to Hebrews, but more probably to Ephesians.

[14] "The brethren *from* Italy" (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*) may mean either simply "the Italian Christians," or it may more accurately designate companions who had accompanied St. Paul from Rome to some new mission district outside Italy.

is the personally written identifying closing blessing: "May (His) grace be with you all!"

345. Content and Arrangement.—Hebrews is an apology for Christianity as against Judaism, an essay to show the higher dignity and permanent value of the former. It is a plea for steadfastness in the Faith in face of the attractions of the magnificent Hebrew Temple and its impressive ritual. The excellence of Christ beyond all other divinely sent messengers—angels, Moses, the Prophets—and the excellence of Christianity beyond even the Old Testament revelation and system—this is the theme of Hebrews.

The first main division (Heb. 1:1—10:39) deals with the excellence of Christ and of His Sacrifice over the various Old Testament revelators and sacrifices. The Jews considered that the Old Testament had been established through the mediation of angels.[15] But Christ is above the angels (Heb. 1:1—2:18), because Scripture calls Him the Son of God, Lord and Creator of all. The writer postulates that the Scripture passages in which the words "Son" or "Lord" occur, apply to Christ, since God, the author of Sacred Scripture, there addresses another Person—who can be Christ alone. However, it was fitting that Christ should be human so that as man He might better be associated with men in their sufferings, to redeem them through His own.

Christ is above Moses, the divinely commissioned herald, as He is also above the priests of the Old Testament (Heb. 3:1—8:13). As a herald of God, Christ stands higher than Moses because He is God's own Son, whereas Moses was but God's servant. Therefore "harden not your hearts" towards Him, as the first children of Israel did towards Moses, lest you enter not "into His rest!" Again, Christ as highpriest "according to the order of Melchisedech," stands superior to the priests of the ancient covenant. That the Melchisedech priesthood is superior to the Aaronic, is demonstrated by a typically Alexandrian and acute exegesis of the Melchisedech incident in Genesis (Heb. 4:14—8:13).

[15] According to the belief that Moses, or any human, would have been stricken dead by direct contact with God.

The Sacrifice of the New Law is far more excellent than all the ancient sacrifices (Heb. 9:1—10:39). The Tabernacle with all its glorious appurtenances was but a type and foreshadowing of the New Law. The sacrifices offered of old could give only external righteousness, whereas Christ, through His Sacrifice in the new and true Tabernacle, effected genuine remission of sin. Again follows the exhortation to steadfastness against the temptation to apostasy.

The other main division corresponds somewhat to the parenetic section customary in other Pauline Epistles. The theme is: "Cling to the Faith!" There is held up for imitation the faith and steadfastness of the Hebrews' forefathers (Heb. 11:1–40). Do not be weakened and discouraged by afflictions and trials: Christ too underwent such. These are corrective punishments, such as a loving father might inflict on his children (Heb. 12:1–13). Take a warning from Esau's foolish bargain: sell not your Christian birthright for a mess of Jewish pottage (Heb. 12:14–17). It was only through fear that the Israelites at Mount Sinai turned away from God's voice; yet, they were punished for this. At the establishment of the impermanent divine organization of old, the earth indeed was shaken. But, when the new and eternal Kingdom of God was established, both earth and Heaven were disturbed (Heb. 12:18–29). Appreciate your membership therein. Do not give it up!

The writer then voices an admonition to charity, and a warning against certain sins. There should be no taking part in useless Jewish food-sacrifices, as Christ is essentially a sacrifice of expiation. Offer rather the sacrifice of praise. Personal remarks close the Epistle.

APPENDIX

BIBLICAL COMMISSION ON EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

De Auctore et modo compositionis Epistolæ ad Hebræos

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio de Re Biblica ita respondendum decrevit:

I.—Utrum dubiis, quæ primis sæculis, ob hæreticorum imprimis abusum, aliquorum in Occidente animos tenuere circa divinam inspirationem ac paulinam originem epistolæ ad Hebræos, tanta vis tribuenda sit ut, attenta perpetua unanimi ac constanti orientalium Patrum affirmatione, cui post sæculum IV totius occidentalis Ecclesiæ plenus accessit consensus; perpensis quoque Summorum Pontificum sacrorumque Conciliorum, tridentini præsertim, actis, necnon perpetuo Ecclesiæ universalis usu, hesitare liceat eam non solum inter canonicas,—quod de fide definitum est,—verum etiam inter genuinas Apostoli Pauli epistolas certo recensere? *Resp.* Negative.

II.—Utrum argumenta quæ desumi solent sive ex insolita nominis Pauli absentia et consueti exordii salutationisque omissione in epistola ad Hebræos,—sive ex eiusdem linguæ græcæ puritate, dictionis ac styli elegantia et perfectione,—sive ex modo quo in ea Vetus Testamentum allegatur et ex eo arguitur,—sive ex differentiis quibusdam quæ inter huius ceterarumque Pauli epistolarum doctrinam existere prætenduntur, aliquo modo eiusdem paulinam originem infirmare valeant; an potius perfectæ doctrinæ ac sententiarum consensio, admonitionum et exhortationum similitudo, necnon locutionum ac ipsorum verborum concordia, a nonnullis etiam acatholicis celebrata, quæ inter eam et reliqua Apostoli gentium scripta observantur, eamdem paulinam originem commonstret atque confirmet? *Resp.* Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad alteram.

III.—Utrum Paulus Apostolus ita huius epistolæ auctor censendus sit ut necessario affirmari debeat, ipsum eam totam non solum Spiritu Sancto inspirante concepisse et expressisse, verum etiam ea forma donasse qua prostat? *Resp.* Negative, salvo ulteriori Ecclesiæ iudicio.

This decree was issued June 24, 1914. See *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis,* vol. VI (1914), p. 417.

SIXTH PART

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

Quomodo gloriatur se esse Christianum qui neque qualiter Scripturæ ad Christum pertineant investigat, neque ad gloriam quam cum Christo habere cupit, per passionem attingere desiderat?

Catena Aurea, in Luc. 24.

Cuatro cosas, Dios mío,
que en tu erario no tienes, te presento:
mi nada, mi necesidad,
mi culpa y mi arrepentimiento.

Devocionario Guadalupano, p. 234.

SIXTH PART

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

PROLEGOMENON

Gathered into a group separate from the Pauline Epistles, are found in the New Testament seven other Epistles: one by St. James, two by St. Peter, three by St. John, and one by St. Jude. To the Epistles of this collection has been given the title of "catholic," probably because several of them at least are addressed to the Church at large, and are practically encyclicals, instead of being intended primarily for some special congregation as is the case with most of the Paulines. "Canonic" is another title applied to this collection, probably because several Epistles thereof were rather late recognized as part of the Canon, and thereupon the qualification was applied to them to distinguish them from other, apocryphal Epistles. The Catholic Epistles as a distinct group were already recognized at the time of Eusebius (about A.D. 325).

Art. 1: THE BRETHREN OF THE LORD

346. Relatives of Jesus.—There is considerable divergence and uncertainty as to just who and what were the "James" and the "Jude" who are the authors of the first and the last of the Catholic Epistles. The fact that a number of persons in the New Testament bear the names of "James" and "Judas" and (one should add) "Mary," makes it most difficult to give a definite solution. So, not a solution but a glimpse of the lines of the problem will be attempted here.

Besides the twelve Apostles or "disciples," there is frequently found associated intimately with Christ in the New

Testament a group known as "the brethren of the Lord" (John 2:12, 7:3–5, 10; Acts 1:14, etc.). The names of at least some of these are given in the sneering remark of the Nazareth townsfolk, who said of Christ: "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not His Mother called Mary? and His brethren, James and Joseph and Simon and Jude? And His sisters, are they not all with us?" (Matt. 13:55–56). Mark gives the incident in similar form: "Is not this the carpenter, the brother of James and Joses and Jude and Simon? Are not also His sisters here with us?" (Mark 6:3).[1]

347. Their Early Unbelief.—Evidently the Nazareth townsfolk did not think much of Christ's relatives who dwelt in their midst. There was naught extraordinary about them. And these relatives in turn, at least at first, scarcely recognized the extraordinary character of their kinsman. Early in His public ministry when they (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) heard of His preaching and miracles and gathering crowds, "they went out to seize upon Him. For they said: 'He's gone out of His mind!' " (Mark 3:20–21). Later on, about the time of the Feast of Tabernacles which preceded Christ's death by half a year, these brethren, now willing to share in His fame, say to Him: "Pass hence and go into Judea, in order that Thy disciples may see the works Thou dost!" To which the evangelist subjoins: "Neither did His brethren believe in Him" (John 7:3–5).

348. Their Later History.—One of the special messages of the risen Christ seems to have been to His "brethren" (John 20:17; Matt. 28:10), unless "brethren" there is to be taken as the equivalent of "Apostles," a meaning it does not have elsewhere. Finally, the "brethren of the Lord" form a distinct group noted by St. Luke in the cenacle, awaiting Pentecost (Acts 1:14). Even many years later, after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 71), the "Davidites," or blood-relatives of Christ, are a revered number amongst the Judeo-Christians in the Pella district, whither they had fled

[1] Nowhere, however, be it noted, is it intimated that any of these "brethren of the Lord" were children of St. Joseph or the Blessed Virgin.

at the time of Jerusalem's investment. The suspicious and cruel Domitian (Emperor 81–96) has these descendants of St. Jude summoned to Rome, seeking to find in them, perhaps, the key to the mystery of Christendom. But they appear before his court holding out calloused hands in token of their laboring condition, and claim but a few sparse acres of land wherewith they sustain life and pay their taxes!

349. James of Jerusalem.—In Gal. 1:19, St. Paul mentions that, on the occasion of his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, he met "James the brother of the Lord," apparently of apostolic dignity like Peter. This James should doubtlessly be regarded as the same person as the James who in Acts is found so prominent in the Jerusalem Christian community. But how was he related to Christ? And was he one of the original band of the twelve Apostles?

Many and varied are the theories proposed in answer to these questions. One of the commonest favored by Occidental scripturists runs as follows: The "James" of the Acts, traditionally the first Bishop of Jerusalem, known also as "the Just" and called by St. Paul and Josephus[2] "a brother of Christ," was the son of "Mary the mother of James and Joses" (Matt. 27:56), called by Mark, "Mary the mother of James the Less and of Joses" (Mark 15:40).[3] And this Mary is considered to be the same person who, in a parallel text, is called by St. John Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ (John 19:25), where the combination of names would seem to indicate that she was the wife of Klopas, who consequently would be the father of this James, "the brother of the Lord."

But the connecting link has to be supplied extra-scripturally. According to Eusebius, "Hegesippus records it to be a fact that Klopas was a brother of Joseph,"[4] Christ's foster-father. Accordingly, Klopas would have been Christ's uncle, and James the Less, Christ's first-cousin.[5] This state-

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, ix, 1: "The brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James."

[3] Probably also the same as Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου of Luke 24:10.

[4] ". . . τὸν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ." See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 9, 1; also *ibid.*, IV, 22, 4–5; III, 32, 6.

[5] Incidentally, Mary Klopas would have been sister-in-law to the

ment is rather confirmed by another testimony of Hegesippus, whose obscure text in Eusebius runs to the following effect: After James the Just had, like the Lord, died for the Faith, Symeon (= Simon) likewise of the same divine stock (*πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ*), the son of Klopas, was enthroned as Bishop (of Jerusalem)—whom all preferred as another (= *δεύτερον*) first-cousin of the Lord.

These fragments of traditional information accord well with the natural characteristic of Judeo-Christians to lay stress on flesh-and-blood connection with Christ.[6] If the theory outlined be followed, then one may conjecture that Klopas was twice married: once to an unnamed woman, by whom he had Simon and Jude, and again to a Mary by whom he had James the Less and Joses. All these children (there were some girls also) would be first-cousins of Jesus, and popularly called His brethren and sisters in Palestinian usage.

350. "Brethren" amongst Apostles?—Were James Klopas (the Less) and his brother Jude members of the original Twelve Apostles? The problem is much discussed. Occidental scripturists incline to answer affirmatively. For this, they seem to rely on the assumption that the name Klopas (or even Cleophas) is but a variant form of Alpheus. Taking this for granted, an interesting comparison may be made between the list of the names of Christ's "brethren" as given in the Gospels, and the Evangelists' lists of the Apostles. A group of three in the latter seems to correspond to three of the former. Compare Matt. 13:55, and Mark 6:3, with the enumeration of the Apostles in Matt. 10:3–4, Mark 3:18–19, Luke 6:15–16, Acts 1:13.

Blessed Virgin, which would explain St. John's note that "there stood by the cross of Jesus, His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary of Klopas" (John 19:25). Some prefer to consider "His mother's sister" and "Mary of Klopas" not in apposition.

[6] Even during His lifetime, Christ had to correct this tendency, as on the occasion when His kinsfolk sought to speak to Him when He was preaching, and "He, stretching forth His hand towards His disciples, said: 'Behold My mother and My brethren!'" (Matt. 12:49; Mark 3:34; Luke 8:20–21).

Brethren of Christ		From Apostle Lists	
Matthew	*Mark*	*Matt.-Mark*	*Luke-Acts*
James	James	James of Alpheus	James of Alpheus
Joseph	Joses		
Simon	Jude	Thaddeus-Lebbeus	Simon the Zealot
Jude	Simon	Simon the Cananean	Jude of James

It is commonly taken that the "Simon" of the "brethren" is the same person as Simon the Cananean and Simon the Zealot in the Apostle lists. "Zealot" would be the translation of the Aramaic קַנָּאן, *qanan*—of which Καναναῖος would be a transliteration, rather than of כְּנַעַן, *Canaan*, the country.

351. Jude-Thaddeus.—Jude is most commonly considered to be the same person as Thaddeus, who has the appellative Lebbeus in some MSS. If the guess that "Thaddeus" is derived from a Semitic root signifying "breast, chest," be correct, it would conform to the other name "Lebbeus" (from *leb*, "heart"). It is suggested that Matthew and Mark avoided using his name "Judas" in order to dissociate him from the opprobrium of the noted traitor—much as in English the form "Jude" is used for this Apostle, instead of the full "Judas." This Jude is generally taken to be the author of the Epistle of Jude. By describing himself as "the brother of James" (Jude 1:1), he is supposed to be referring to James the Less.

352. Alpheus-Klopas.—In the Occidental Church, the Apostle James the Less, James of Alpheus, the "brother of the Lord," and James the son of Mary Klopas, are all supposed to be one and the same person, who is also the author of the Epistle of James. It is contended that "Alpheus" and "Klopas" are but varied pronunciations of an original חלפאי Also, the Klopas and the Cleophas (Luke 24:18) are frequently assumed to be the same person—the father of this James of Alpheus.

However, St. Jerome does not recognize such an identifica-

tion.[7] And it seems strange, if Alpheus and Cleophas[8] are equivalents, that the same writer should use "Alpheus" in Luke 16:15 and Acts 1:13, and still speak of one named "Cleophas" in Luke 24:18. St. Jerome interprets "Alpheus" as signifying "*fugitivus,* sed melius *millesimus* . . . sive *super os.*" Thus he would seem to postulate an original like אַלְף or אֶל פִּי, which scarcely resembles חלפאי.

The whole matter of the exact relationship of the "brethren of the Lord" to Jesus, as well as of the identification of certain of their number with Apostles, is still very much an open question. Whether Mary of Klopas was the Blessed Virgin's sister or only sister-in-law (John 19:25), is also unsettled. Although Western tradition generally assumes that the authors of the Epistles of James and of Jude were the Apostles James the Less and Jude-Thaddeus, the correctness of this assumption does not affect the canonicity of these writings. For convenience, the view just mentioned is used hereafter without prejudice.

Art. 2: THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES

353. Author and Date.—As has been noted above, the James who is the hagiographer of the first of the "catholic" Epistles, is identified generally with "James the Just," the first Bishop of Jerusalem, and also with an Apostle of the same name. In Acts, James appears as a prominent person in the early history of the Church, being mentioned alongside Peter and John Zebedee and James Zebedee ("the Greater"). In this connection, there is an interesting text of Clement of Alexandria: "Peter and John and James (Zebedee), despite the preference accorded them by the Lord, after the Lord's Ascension did not strive for preëminence—but rather James the Just became Bishop of Jerusalem."[1]

[7] Jerome, *Adv. Helvidium,* 13; and *Ep. cxx ad Hedib.,* 44.

[8] Κλεόπας is probably a shortened form of Κλεόπατρος. But Κλωπᾶς sounds like a transcription of an Aramaic word.

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes,* VI, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* II, 1; II, 23.

Hegesippus, in the Eusebian text, adds information regarding the stern ascetic life of this James, his being a Nazarite (see Numb. 6:1–8) and on that account held in high esteem also by the non-Christian Jews. The same writer tells how James was to be found frequently in the Temple (εἰς τὸν ναόν, as if "the Holy of Holies," which is scarcely credible), praying for the Jewish people on his knees, so that the latter became calloused as a camel's. This same Hegesippus concludes with the account of how James was hurled down from the Temple height, and then brained with a fuller's mallet. He suggests that James's martyrdom was practically coincidental with the opening by Vespasian of the final war of extermination against the Jews (hence about A.D. 66–67).

354. Josephus's Account.—Josephus likewise connects James's death with the eventual destruction of Jerusalem,[2] but places the martyrdom considerably earlier, stating that it took place under the highpriest Ananus, a Sadducee, who for this purpose took advantage of the interregnum of the Procuratorship between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus (hence during the summer of A.D. 62). According to Josephus, a delegation of Pharisees and outstanding Jerusalemites, fearing the consequences of the presumptuous and rash act of Ananus, went to meet Albinus and disavowed the Sanhedrin, which had illegally been assembled by Ananus. They also sent to King Agrippa, and had him depose Ananus. But all this is shown in Josephus to have been the opening wedge for the definite break between Jews and Romans in Palestine. Josephus' dating seems to merit preference, as he accords with Hegesippus on the theme of connecting [3] the martyrdom of James with the destruction of Jerusalem, yet gives more specific data as to the time. Josephus's account also fits better in laying the blame for James's death upon the *Sadducees,* and not the Pharisees.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities,* X, ix, 1 *ss.*, given in No. 338 above.

[3] According to Origen (*Contra Celsum,* I, 47; II, 13; *In Matt.,* tom. X, 17), there was in this text of Josephus the following: "These things (= destruction of Jerusalem) happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just who was a brother of Jesus that is called the Christ. For the Jews slew him, although he was a most just man."

The latter would rather have esteemed James for his strict adherence to the Mosaic ritual observances. Josephus seems to have considered himself as of the Pharisees, and was pleased to cast the blame for Jewish misfortunes upon the Sadducees, who rather were in control at Jerusalem after the time of Christ's death (of which they were the immediate cause).

The Epistle of St. James, then, is not to be dated *later* than A.D. 62. It cannot precede A.D. 42, for in the latter hypothesis the author would have had to distinguish himself from the other notable James (Zebedee), who was martyred in that year. Belser would consider this Epistle perhaps the first of all—preceding even Galatians, because there is found therein no reference to the Judeo-Christian controversy, no evidence of contact between the first Christians and the non-Jews (heathens). In this case, however, a certain let-down, degeneration, carelessness, implied in Christian social practices, might indicate a time when the first fervor of the Judeo-Christian communities had somewhat relaxed. However, a possible allusion to rather late Sadducean oppression will be noted farther on.

355. Authenticity and Canonicity. — Early hesitation about considering this Epistle scriptural may have been due to the uncertainty as to whether this James was an Apostle or not. For some considered that a New Testament writing had to have been either composed by an Apostle, or at least approved by one (covering the case of Mark and Luke). The Old Syriac version contains James. That the *Hermæ Pastor* (written about 140–155) is well acquainted with this Epistle, is undeniable.[4] Origen is the first to cite this Epistle under the name of James.[5] The testimony of Eusebius, who reckoned James amongst the ἀντιλεγόμενα, is given elsewhere.[6] St. Jerome has this: "Iacobus qui appellatur 'frater Domini', . . . unam tantum scripsit Epistolam . . . quæ et ipsa ab

[4] Compare *Hermæ Pastor, Simil. VI*, 1, and *IX*, 14, with James, 1: 21; *Visio III*, 9, and *Simil. I*, 8, with James 1: 27; *Mand. XXI*, 6, and *Simil. IX*, 23, with James, 4: 12, etc.

[5] Origen, *Homil. in Ioan.*, VII, 1.

[6] See No. 390 below, in article on Jude.

alio quodam sub nomine eius edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.'' [7]

Certainly the author was a Jew. In fact, excising the two sole references to Christ, it has been suggested that the writing is too Jewish to be Christian. The suffering of Job and the Prophets is adduced where one would have expected a reference to that of Christ (Jas. 5:10–11). For the efficaciousness of prayer, the writer cites the case of Elias, and not the promise of Christ (Jas. 5:16–18). Wrongful affection for the world is termed ''adultery'' in Old Testament style (Jas. 4:4).

On the other hand, the author in many places shows acquaintance with the words of Christ. One may verify this easily by comparing Jas. 1:11 with Matt. 13:6b, and Luke 12:55; Jas. 1:14, with Matt. 15:19; Jas. 3:1, with Matt. 23:8; Jas. 5:7, with Mark 4:27; Jas. 5:12, with Mark 5:34–37, and 23:16; Jas. 5:17, with Luke 4:25, etc. The language, in fact, of this Epistle is reminiscent of that of Ecclesiasticus and of the discourses of Christ in the Synoptics.

356. Content.—This work scarcely has ''epistolary'' characteristics: it is rather a somewhat rambling discourse, charming in its general clearness and simplicity. Rather than dogmatic teaching, it contains parenetic advice and exhortation. False teachers are not envisaged, but the readers are considered suffering certain wrongs, injustices. Like Ecclesiasticus, James seems to have proposed to give commonsense explanations, practical σοφία (the word occurs five times), for certain vicissitudes and temptations of life. He shows how the supernatural principles of the New Testament are to control and direct Christians in many a daily occurrence and danger.

The address ''To the Twelve Tribes in the Diaspora'' shows that the persons addressed are not Jews as such; but that the addressees are Christians, called such as God's real Chosen People, then living scattered as strangers in all the vast reaches of heathendom. For, literally, the ''twelve

[7] Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.*, II.

tribes'' of Israel had long ago ceased to be counted, especially since the Northern defection of ten tribes had left only Juda and Benjamin with a Hebrew racial consciousness. This expression of James 1:1 is consequently to be taken in the same metaphorical and universal Christian sense as St. Peter's: ''To the elect, strangers of the diaspora'' (I Pet. 1:1).

The main theme of this letter is outlined in Jas. 1:22–27. To *know* Christianity is not enough: one must also *do* Christianly—especially in guarding speech, doing works of mercy, keeping oneself ''unspotted by this world.'' These three leading ideas are thereupon expanded at length, although not in the order announced.

Jas. 2:1–9 deals with respect of persons, warning against giving greater regard to wealthy brethren than to the poor ones. This is acting according to worldly principles, not according to the principles of Christ, the ''law of liberty'' (Jas. 2:12),[8] according to which men shall be judged in the end.

Next (Jas. 2:13–26) is pointed out the necessity of good works to make the theory of faith into a living practice: ''Faith without works is dead.'' After having himself scathingly denounced the uselessness of a workless faith in a plain example (Jas. 2:14–17), the writer seems to bring in for his purpose the viewpoint of the non-Christian, of a Jew (Jas. 2:18–19). The latter can reproach the believing but workless Christian: ''Yes, you may have a wondrous faith, and claim it is superior to my religious belief. But I at least back up what I believe by the works I do. You believe in One God as I do. But what has your faith superior to even the demons' conviction of supernatural truth? They too are convinced—but surely perform no good works. So you with all your faith are only on a par with them.''

[8] St. James calls the New Dispensation a ''law of liberty,'' in so far as the motivating power of its virtuous acts is love, freely accepted and given (especially as regards the evangelical Counsels, the ideal to be striven for, above and beyond the necessary Commandments); not the external constraint which marked the Old Law which a Jew had to observe by virtue of his birth and nationality.

In his third section (Jas. 3:1–12) St. James deals at length with the evils of the tongue. Appended thereto is a disquisition on the signs of true supernatural wisdom (Jas. 3:13–18): it makes for peace and not discord. The author finds himself obliged to castigate a tendency to unkindness, rash judgment, rivalry and greed in his readers (Jas. 4:1–12). He recalls to them that their whole life, with all its possible vicissitudes, depends on God's will. What they may accomplish that is great, is rather God's grant than due to their own efforts, being conditioned upon factors over which control is not theirs, but God's.

357. Diatribe against Sadducees?—This consideration brings the writer to a special excoriation of the "wealthy," who lay up riches at the expense of injustice towards those who labor (Jas. 5:1–6). St. James's language changes to the solemn style used by the Prophets in denouncing the nations that oppressed Israel of old. These "wealthy" are evidently outsiders,[9] not members of the Christian community. But, who are they?

In this connection, one may recall that the wealthy, easy-living class of the time belonged generally to the Sadducean party. The strict, abstemious Pharisees were rather the popular party at Christ's time, and they also controlled the Temple. But, after that time, the Sadducees, selfish, unprincipled, despisers of the poor, had been gradually coming into political and religious control.[10] Josephus notes with dislike that about A.D. 62, even the highpriest was a Sadducee.[11] Shortly before, the same historian had recounted how, at about the time Ishmael Fabi was highpriest, "such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the highpriests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the thresh-

[9] Indeed wealthy Christians would be an anomaly in the early apostolic period of Christianity in Palestine, where Christians had all things in common (Acts 2:45; 4:34) and had to be helped by collections taken up outside.

[10] Indeed, not so long after Pentecost, the Sadducees are already found having power in the Temple and opposed to the new Christian community (Acts 4:1; 5:17). Gamaliel, a Pharisee, however, ventures to defend the Apostles (Acts 5:34).

[11] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, ix, 1: see also *ibid.*, XX, viii, 8.

ing floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want."

Now, in Acts 6:7 it had been related that "a great multitude also of the priests obeyed the Faith." These were probably of the lower, poorer orders, not so infected with Sadduceeism as the imperious highpriestly group. Hence it is not an improbable conjecture to connect the Josephus note also with certain Judeo-Christians, and consider St. James's terrific diatribe of the "rich" to be directed mainly against the wealthy and imperious Sadducees, taking advantage of their long-striven-for arrival at control. The conjecture would seem confirmable by the final accusation: "You condemned and killed the Just One—and He did not resist you" (Jas. 5:6). Whilst the immediate reference is most probably to the Judean oppression and persecution of Christians generally, still the allusion to Christ's condemnation and death is unmistakable—and this was indeed the work of the Sadducees.[12]

358. "Parousia."—Turning next once more to those within the flock, St. James asks them to be patient "until the *parousia* of the Lord" (Jas. 5:7). Does he have prophetic reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, when Christ would indeed come to inflict condign punishment upon those who had slain Him and oppressed the just members of His Mystical Body? It would seem so from the other phrases: "The *parousia* of the Lord is nigh. . . . Behold the Judge stands before the portals!" (Jas. 5:8, 9).

Thereupon follows another exhortation against useless oaths, swearing (Jas. 5:12–13), and the most definite New Testament text on the sacrament of Extreme Unction (Jas. 5:14–15), as well as on auricular Confession (Jas. 5:16). There is no epistolary conclusion whatever.

359. James and Ecclesiasticus.—The author of this Epistle manifests notable familiarity with the Sapiential writings of the Old Testament, such as Proverbs, Wisdom, and especially Ecclesiasticus. Their practical "wisdom," their common-

[12] See No. 19 above, in article on "The Sadducees."

sense consideration of the Mosaic Law, with its emphasis on the underlying spiritual principles rather than on the extraneous ritualistic details—these seem to be St. James's model for a practical application of the New Testament principles also. There is no formal quotation (even of Ecclesiasticus), but the sententious language shows numerous parallels to scattered texts and fragments retained in memory. Unfortunately, the available text of Ecclesiasticus (both of the Greek version and of the more recently found Hebrew parts) is itself none too certain, with its numerous doublets and frequent divergencies from the Latin version. The illustrative parallels given below are translated from the Greek.

James	Ecclesiasticus
1:5: God giveth to all straightforwardly, without reproaching.	4:28: After giving, reproach not.
1:6: Let him ask in faith, not wavering. For he who wavers . . .	7:9 (10): Be not faint-hearted in thy prayer.
1:8: A wavering (δίψυχος) man is he, unstable in all his ways.	2:15: Woe to the relaxing heart: Because it does not believe, it shall not be sheltered.
	1:36: Mistrust not the fear of the Lord, and come not before Him with a doubting heart.
1:10: The rich man like the flower of grass shall pass. For the sun rose with heat and scorched the grass and its flower fell off.	14:18 (Vulgate): Omnis caro sicut fœnum veterascet, et sicut folium fructificans in arbore viridi. (Hebrew): As the leaves grow on a green tree, one pushing forth, another disappearing . . .
1:19: Let every one be quick to hear, slow to speak, slow to anger.	5:13: Be swift in hearkening, and in long-suffering announce thy decision. (Hebrew): Be quick to give ear, but with delay give thine answer.
2:13: Let no one tempted say: "I am tempted by God." For God is incapable of being tempted by evils, and He Himself tempts no man.	15:12: Say not: "He Himself trapped me!" For He has no need of a sinful man. (Hebrew): Say not: "From God [cometh] my sin!" For He does not do what He hates.
3:2: If one stumble not in his speech, he is a perfect man.	14:1: Blessed is the man who makes no slip with his mouth.

Incidentally, this use of Ecclesiasticus by a New Testament writer who at the same time was a Jew of the strict observance, testifies to the canonicity of that Book, rejected about A.D. 90 by the ultra-conservative Pharisaic clique at Jabneh.

360. St. James and St. Paul.—It is much discussed whether St. James in this Epistle, with its emphasis upon "works" rather than "faith," is intending to correct false impressions made by certain passages in the Pauline Epistles, especially Romans and Galatians. But a real connection, one way or the other, between Romans and James has never been definitely established. Both writers speak much of the interrelationship of "faith" and "works"—but St. Paul by the latter term generally designates the "works of the Law," or Jewish ceremonial observances. In James, "works" means "practical acts of Christian virtues." His viewpoint of "faith" also differs from St. Paul's. The Apostle of the Gentiles, generally arguing against Judaists, insists that the *initial* stage of "justification" (of being placed in the decreed supernatural order) is brought about by "faith," or the acceptance of Christ's doctrine, not by ritual "works" like circumcision, etc. St. James speaks of "faith" as required for *final* justification before God's judgment seat at death. He does not speak, as does St. Paul, of the faith wherewith the convert to Christianity must necessarily *begin* his course; but of the faith wherewith the already supernaturalized Christian must be prepared to *end* this life and begin the ultimate perfect state of supernaturalization in eternity. That faith, the Christian's faith, must certainly be "informed" of good works. There is, then, no conflict, nor perhaps even connection, to be sought here between the teaching of St. Paul and that of St. James. They are not speaking of the same thing, although they use like terms. Both view a change in man's condition. But St. Paul has in mind the change from sinfulness to the state of grace, whereas St. James looks forward to the change from the state of a professed Christian to that of glorification in Heaven.

361. Vulgate Variants.—The Latin version in several places shows divergencies from the present Greek text. St.

Augustine, in Jas. 1:17, has "momenti obumbratio," instead of "vicissitudinis," as if he read ῥοπῆς (moment), instead of τροπῆς (change). In Jas. 3:7, the Vulgate's present "cetero-rum" must be a copyist's error for "cetorum" ("sea-beasts," to correspond to ἐναλίων). A defective rendition in Jas. 2:13 may be noted by comparing the translation given above. The Greek of Jas. 5:4 is also more descriptive: "Behold the wage of the workers who mowed your fields, withheld by you, cries out, and the wails of the reapers have entered the ears of the Lord of Hosts."

Art. 3: FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER

362. Addressed to Gentiles.—The addressees of I Peter are Christians living in "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (I Pet. 1:1), that is, the Roman provinces or districts bearing those names, which comprised the greater part of Asia Minor. But, did St. Peter, as "the Apostle of the circumcized" (Gal. 2:8), intend this letter principally or even primarily for the Judeo-Christians of those districts? That cannot be proved from the letter itself. Indeed, it is very improbable that the bulk of the Christians in those heathen regions were of Hebrew origin. On the contrary, St. Peter applies to the recipients of his letter the words of Osee 2:24: "I will say to that which was not My people: 'Thou art My People,' and they shall say: 'Thou art my God!'" —words which St. Paul had already interpreted as referring to the conversion of the Gentiles (Rom. 9:25). They are said to have been "called out of darkness" (I Pet. 2:9), which in Scripture language generally refers to the night of heathenism, as in Isaias: "I have given Thee . . . for a light of the Gentiles, that Thou mightest bring . . . them that sit in darkness out of the prison house" (Is. 42:6–7). In I Pet. 1:18, the "vain conversation of paternally handed down tradition" does not refer to Jewish practices. For μάταιος (= empty, useless, foolish) is the adjective generally used to designate idols and idolatry in the Septuagint, as also

in Eph. 4:17 *ss.* and Rom. 1:21 *ss.* Again, the women-folk of those Christians are not said to have been, but to have "become" (ἐγενήθητε) daughters of Sara (I Pet. 3:6). Lastly, the tone of I Pet. 4:3–4 indicates that the Gentiles now wonder why their former fellows will no longer join them "in riotousness, lusts, drunks . . . and improper idol cults." All this does not exclude that there were Jews, and perhaps many of them, amongst those Asia Minor Christians.

363. Conditions of those Communities.—There is no indication in this Epistle that the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64) had already begun, nor indeed of any state-authorized and organized oppression of the Christians. On the contrary, St. Peter's advice to the Asia Minor Christians is that they should stand in well with the government authorities (I Pet. 2:13–14). He would scarcely have written: "Honor the Emperor" (I Pet. 2:17), if Nero's persecution had already broken out.

No, the troubles suffered by the Asia Minor Christians consisted in the malignings (I Pet. 3:9), unjust suspicions (I Pet. 2:15), false accusations (I Pet. 3:16; 2:12), and general ostracism and petty vexations to which they were subjected by the Gentiles. A great part of this Epistle, in fact, is taken up with admonitions for the conduct of Christians towards their heathen neighbors.[1] They are to be "ready always to satisfy every one that asketh . . . a reason of that hope which is in them" (I Pet. 3:15). Equally prominent is the endeavor to explain why oppression and vexation by non-Christians forms part of the normal lot of the members of the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ's own example of suffering is held up for consideration, and consolation is to be sought in realization of the inherent dignity of Christians, as well as in the certainty of their eventual glorification.

It is because of the abnormal condition wherein these new Christians find themselves in their entirely heathen environment, that this Epistle addresses them as "strangers" scat-

[1] Thus, this encyclical letter of the first Pope remains perennially fresh and applicable, particularly in those countries where Catholics are in the minority.

tered in those regions (I Pet. 1:1). Later, playing on the same idea, the Prince of the Apostles exhorts them to be indeed "as strangers and pilgrims" in regard to the "carnal desires" which were practically social usage in pagan circles (I Pet. 2:11).

364. "Babylon"—Rome.—The greeting near the close of this Epistle (I Pet. 5:13) indicates that the writer is in "Babylon," which constant Christian tradition has read as a metaphorical designation for Rome. According to the testimony of Strabo [2] and Pliny, ancient Babylon was at this time but a heap of ruins. Nowhere is there a record of a Christian community established there in apostolic times.[3] Nor do Mark and Silvanus appear anywhere in the Acts or Pauline writings as evangelizing east of the Jordan.

On the other hand, in the Apocalypse (Apoc. 17:3–9) the Scarlet Woman, "the mother of fornications," "seated upon seven mountains," is beyond doubt the city of Rome, as the capital of the pagan, Christian-persecuting Roman Empire. For she "is the great city which hath kingdom over the kings of the earth" (Apoc. 17:18). And this apocalyptic personification of the city of Rome is specifically marked with a mystical name, "Babylon the Great" (Apoc. 17:6),[4] by which she is called also in the succeeding taunt-song (Apoc. 18), that is an evident imitation of the taunt-songs of Jeremias (Jer. 50:1 *ss.*) and Isaias (Is. 47:1 *ss.*) over the real Babylon on the Euphrates. By this name, then, does St. Peter designate

[2] Writing about 20 B.C., he says that Seleucus Nicator transferred the capital to Seleucia, about 300 stadia from ancient Babylon, which "is in great part deserted," and he applies to it the quip of a comic poet: "'The great city is a great desert'" (XVI, 15).

[3] However, it is to be noted that Josephus (*Antiquities*, XVIII, ix) devotes an entire chapter to certain vicissitudes of the Jews "in Babylonia," in the city of Neërda, during the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41). Towards the conclusion, he mentions that "a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city," whereupon its Jews migrated to Seleucia. This Neërda, Josephus seems to locate near Nisibis, yet on the Euphrates—hundreds of miles north of the Old Testament Babylon.

[4] The *Sibylline Oracles*, V, dating from latter part of first century, say of Nero: "The prince shall flee from Babylon, trembling and shameless"—thus witnessing to the profane use of the term "Babylon" to designate Rome.

the city of his dwelling, to indicate to his readers, harassed in distant Asia Minor, that his own community can sympathize with them, as they themselves are living in a terrific heathen environment.

365. Author and Date.—Peter the Apostle is named in the address as the author of this Epistle. Mark, mentioned in I Pet. 5:13 as associated with Peter, is the son of that Mary in whose house at Jerusalem St. Peter took refuge upon his miraculous liberation from Herod Agrippa's imprisonment. Early ecclesiastical history testifies to his acting as Peter's companion and interpreter on the Apostle's first coming to Rome. Silvanus-Silas was an outstanding member of the Jerusalem community, who later had accompanied St. Paul in his evangelizing of Asia Minor (Acts 15:40—16:3). He is the bearer of the letter.[5] He may probably have come to Rome about 63–64, and there reported the unfortunate conditions of the Asia Minor Christians.

The writer of I Peter emphasizes the fact that he was a "witness of Christ's sufferings" (I Pet. 5:1). Although opening with the title of "Apostle," he later humbly calls himself simply a "fellow-presbyter," although addressing the presbyters of the Asiatic communities with unquestioned authority. The flock-and-shepherd language of I Pet. 5:2–4 and 2:25 in this connection seems to indicate him who heard addressed to himself the words: "Feed My sheep!" (John 21:15–17). The foundation-stone metaphor in I Pet. 2:4 (although the building figure may be influenced by Eph. 2:20), would naturally occur to him who had himself been called the rock upon which the Church would be built (Matt. 16:18).[6] It may be remarked that the writer does not claim to have himself evangelized the churches he addresses (I Pet. 1:12).[7] Lastly, similarities are traceable in language and thought between this Epistle and St. Peter's speeches given

[5] The common Greek expression *γράφειν διὰ τινός* (="to write by some one") designated the bearer rather than the writer of a letter.

[6] Note also Peter's speech in Acts 4:11, with the same argumentation.

[7] For the *in quem* (desiderant angeli prospicere) which seems to refer to the Holy Ghost, it is better to follow the Greek *εἰς ἅ*, referring to the previously mentioned revelations concerning Christ and His work on earth.

in Acts. "The Wood" (τὸ ξύλον) to denote the cross (I Pet. 2:24) is found elsewhere only in Acts 5:30.

St. Peter is mentioned as the author of this Epistle by Papias and Polycarp,[8] Ireneus,[9] Clement of Alexandria,[10] and Tertullian.[11] The Old Syriac and Old Latin versions contain this Epistle, although it is not listed in the present text of the Muratorian Canon.

The date of I Peter cannot be later than A.D. 64, the year of St. Peter's death; nor can it be earlier than A.D. 55, when Silvanus ceased accompanying St. Paul at the start of his second mission tour. Mark's presence in Rome is witnessed to for A.D. 61–62. And if St. Peter previously read Eph. 2:20–22, then too the date of I Peter cannot be earlier than A.D. 61. The following internal considerations also suggest a date close to the outbreak of the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64): the Faith has been spread and firmly established throughout Asia Minor; the Christian communities are quite fully organized under *presbyteria;* they have come to be recognized as a definite religious group; they are suspected and calumniated and even oppressed by their heathen contemporaries—the latter particularly points to a social and psychological condition which made the Neronian persecution possible and feasible.

366. Content and Arrangement.—Unlike St. Paul, St. Peter is not given to dialectics and magnificent theological developments. He clings closely to the facts of Christ's life, Passion and Resurrection. The dogmatic and the moral parenetic thoughts are not kept so separate, but intermingle practically. The author's object is to encourage and strengthen Christians to steadfastness in the Faith amidst the rising tide of suffering and oppression.

The apostrophe of I Pet. 1:1–12 outlines the root-principles of the Faith. In the first section (I Pet. 1:13—2:10) St. Peter exhorts his readers to live up to the dignity of their calling, being mindful of God's holiness and unbiased justice,

[8] In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 39, 17; IV, 14, 9.
[9] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, IV, 9–10; V, 7.
[10] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* III, 18; IV, 20.
[11] Tertullian, *Adv. Iudæos,* XII; *Scorpiace,* 12, 14.

as well as of the great price of their redemption, and their exalted function as members of the Church. The second section (I Pet. 2:11—4:6) goes more into particulars in advice regarding a model Christian life, touching on the bearing one should have towards the civil authorities, relationships of employers and employees (I Pet. 2:18), husband and wife, etc. Again and again is reference made to the example of Christ, and to the providentially beneficial effects of suffering for His sake. The third section (I Pet. 4:7—5:11) deals with life within the Christian community itself, prayer, philanthropy, and again patience under tribulation. Those in charge of the community are exhorted to their pastoral duties; their subjects to obedience. I Pet. 5:11–14 contains the concluding personal remarks.

367. Christ's "Descent into Hell."—In this Epistle occur two of the most obscure and widely discussed passages of all Scripture: I Pet. 3:19–20 and 4:6. The difficulties have been enhanced by attempts to interrelate the two passages, as referring to the same topic. Here I Pet. 4:5–6 will first be examined, to show its dissociation from the other passage in subject matter. According to the critical Greek text, it reads as follows:

> (The heathens) shall render account [of their aforementioned evil deeds] to Him who is [even now] prepared to judge the living and the dead (ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς). For, unto this purpose has there been an evangelization unto the dead also (νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη) that they may be judged (= made to suffer) in the flesh according to men (= human opinion) indeed, but may live in the spirit (= soul, interior supernatural life) according to God.

Is the term "the dead" in this passage to be taken literally for the physically deceased, or metaphorically for those dead in sin, lacking life supernatural? The ecclesiastical phrase, "to judge the living and the dead," is generally read literally as referring to those still alive ("the quick") at the time of the General Judgment, and those who have predeceased. Although this interpretation is valid in some places, it is not always necessary. "Judgment" in Scripture language is any divine action relative to the reward or punishment of rational

creatures; it is not restricted to the Second Coming or Last Judgment. Compare Christ's word (John 16:11): "The Prince of This World is already judged" (= condemned, made to halt in his activity); and (John 12:31): "Now is the judgment of the world; now shall the Prince of this World be cast out." And in the Apocalypse (14:7) the angel's announcement: "The hour of His judgment is come," does not refer primarily to the Last Judgment, but to discriminating, separating activity of God, relative to the innocent and the unrighteous even whilst on earth during the duration of time. Indeed, in its broadest sense "judgment" in the Scriptures signifies that automatic separation of men, according as they are good or wicked, for or against conformity with the divine world-plan, which takes place whenever a supernatural verity or fact is set before men, and they have to decide whether they will accept or reject it. Thus, already Simeon could say of the infant Christ: "Behold this One is set for the fall and the rising of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted" (Luke 2:34). This self-made choice of men is the foreplay or preliminary determining factor whether at the Second Coming they will be accorded reward or punishment by Christ the Judge; hence this self-choice is anticipatively already called a "judgment." Therefore, the phrase "to judge the living and the dead" may, in certain contexts at least, certainly be taken to signify God's action in showing who of men still on earth are with Him and who against.

Hence also, "the living and the dead" frequently signifies "saints and sinners," "the righteous and the ungodly"[12] —and this even in reference to the Last Judgment.

The term, "the dead" (I Pet. 4:6), consequently stands for the heathen generally, as distinguished from the Jews who had at least more intimate knowledge of God, the great Life-Source. To "the dead," then—that is, to heathens or the

[12] St. Paul tells the converted Romans that they are to consider themselves as "dead to sin, but alive unto God," as having become by their conversion to Christianity "alive from the dead" (Rom. 6:11 *ss.*), which latter signifies unregenerate heathendom.

unrighteous in general[13]—has the Gospel been preached, in order that they may have a chance to be converted, to "live in the spirit," become spiritually alive, and be reckoned as such by God, even whilst "in the flesh" and "according to men" they are by their conversion made to suffer, apparently "judged" or condemned. In I Pet. 4:5–6, there is no reference, consequently, to any action of Christ amongst the predeceased in Limbo. There is simply brought out the contrast between God's infallibly correct judgment and the paradoxically unjust position of Christians during the present life. This is St. Augustine's exegesis:[14] "Proinde quod . . . dicit Petrus non cogit apud inferos intelligi. Propter hoc enim in hac vita mortuis evangelizatum est, id est: infidelibus et iniquis, ut cum crediderint, iudicentur quidem secundum homines in carne, hoc est in diversis tribulationibus et ipsa morte carnis: unde idem Apostolus alio loco dicit 'tempus esse ut iudicium incipiat a domo Domini' (I Pet. 4:17)."

Once it is clear that I Pet. 4:5–6 has no reference to Christ's descent to the netherworld, and that there is no need to parallel its εὐηγγελίσθη to the ἐκήρυξεν of I Pet. 3:19–20, the exegesis of the latter passage is made possible. Its Greek text, which is to be preferred to the present Vulgate, reads as follows:

> Christ died once . . . being put to death in the flesh, yet alive in the spirit—coming in which he made announcement to the spirits which were in detention (ἐν φυλακῇ), to those namely who had been earlier disobedient, when God's long-suffering was holding off in Noe's days whilst the ark was a-building—in which a few, that is eight, persons were saved by water. The latter is a type of the baptism which now saves you. . . .

The point envisaged by St. Peter just previously was the fact that the few Christians were being jibed at, calumniated, and oppressed by the far greater number of their heathen contemporaries. Thus it was also with Noe, the "announcer of justice" (II Pet. 2:5). From Matt. 24:37 and Luke

[13] Compare Is. 26:19: "The very dead shall live again, and my corpses shall once more arise."

[14] Augustine, *Ep. clxiv ad Evodium*, 21. See also Clement of Alexandria, *Adumbrationes in I Pet.*

17:26, one may conclude that Noe's contemporaries paid not the slightest heed to his preparations, if they did not also mock his apparent foolishness. Thus is one parallel between the case of Noe and that of the Asiatic Christians insinuated. But Peter's thought does not develop this fully; rather he hastens on to bring out another phase: namely, what happened in the future life to those who, unlike Noe, had not heeded God's commands. They had, of course, been drowned in their sins. To these Christ at the time of His death—when paradoxically He should have been most powerless—"made announcement" (heralded). What? Not salvation—this was out of the question for them: they had been obstinately "disobedient." For these there could be no "glad tidings." No, Christ's message to the sinners of Noe's day, detained in the netherworld, must have consisted in the definite announcement of their damnation.

Art. 4: SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER

368. St. Peter Its Author.—The doubts of a few early ecclesiastical writers with regard to II Peter may be exemplified in the words of Eusebius: "One Epistle of Peter is acknowledged as genuine. . . . But we have learned that his extant Second Epistle does not belong to the Canon; yet, as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other Scriptures."[1] The same writer, however, immediately proceeds to assign to II Peter a position superior to the apocryphal "Acts," "Gospel," *Periodoi,* and "Apocalypse" falsely attributed to St. Peter. Pope says: "It must be acknowledged that anything like positive trace of II Peter is wanting in literature earlier than the middle of the second century." The reason for these early doubts may be seen in the words of St. Jerome: "Duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus."[2]

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 3; see also VI, 25, and III, 39,

[2] Jerome, *Epist. cxx ad Hedibiam,* xi. Elsewhere St. Jerome cites II Pet. 2 as "in catholica Epistola."

On the other hand, Eusebius notes that Clement of Alexandria commented also on II Peter. Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia [3] alludes thereto by a reference to false teachers foretold by Peter. Whilst Origen mentions doubts about the authenticity of II Peter, he also in several places adduces II Peter as canonic and of Petrine authorship.[4] In earlier writers, some have found allusions to this Epistle.[5]

369. Internal Evidence.—As its author, the Epistle itself claims "Simon Peter, servant and Apostle of Jesus Christ" (II Pet. 1:1). The author states that Christ Himself had given him warning of approaching death (II Pet. 1:14). He counts himself as an eyewitness of the Transfiguration (II Pet. 1:16 *ss.*), and adduces this incident as unattackable. Throughout the letter, the author manifests a deep realization of pastoral care and responsibility relative to Christians, which could scarcely emanate from a forger's work. Moreover, the author claims St. Paul as a "brother," yet freely gives judgment on the latter's Epistles (II Pet. 3:15–16). The example of Noe and the Deluge is used (II Pet. 2:5), much as in I Pet. 3:20. All these indications point to Peter the Apostle as the author.

370. I and II Peter Compared.—Several and notable divergencies appear from a comparison of I Peter with the present Epistle. Thus, I Peter is replete with Old Testament citations; in II Peter there is not a single formal quotation,[6] although allusions abound. This might be explained by the theory that St. Peter was in straitened circumstances, if not already in prison, and hence had no books available to verify his Old Testament quotations. The language divergence has already been given in the words of St. Jerome. There have been counted 369 words in I Peter which are not in II Peter;

[3] Firmilian, *Epist. ad Cyprianum*, 75, 6.

[4] For example in *Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos*, 1, 8; *Hom. IV in Lev.*

[5] Compare Clement of Rome, *I Clem.*, IX, 2, with II Pet. 1:17; *I Clem.*, IX, 4, and XI, 1, with II Pet. 2:5 *ss.*, where the same examples of Noe and Lot are used to point the same moral. In the *Hermæ Pastor, Simil. VI*, 6, may be compared with II Pet. 2:1.

[6] Unless II Pet. 2:22, be taken from Prov. 26:11. But it seems to be stated as a folk-saying.

and in II Peter 230 words not found in the earlier Epistle. In I Peter (1:7, 13; 4:13) the Second Coming is called ἀποκάλυψις; in II Peter (1:16; 3:4), παρουσία. The "inheritance," κληρονομία, of I Pet. 1:4, is replaced by αἰώνιος βασιλεία in II Pet. 1:11. These language divergencies, where not justified by difference of themes treated, may be explained by the theory that St. Peter employed a different secretary to compose II Peter, whereas for I Peter he was assisted by either Silvanus or Mark (I Pet. 4:12–13).

But, if considerable divergencies may be noted between the two Epistles in the matter of language, yet many similarities also are to be observed in the thought-content. In both writings the Person of the Saviour Christ Jesus stands out with remarkable prominence as the center towards which all the other thoughts converge. In both, Christ's Second Coming is set forth as the object for which all must prepare themselves by a life according to Christian principles. In both, Christ is represented as having redeemed men with His precious Blood and thereby cleansed them of their sins. In both, the Christian religion is figured as the fulfillment of the types and prophecies of old; the Apostles and the Prophets are paralleled in function. Both letters begin with the augury of supernatural reward as the great stimulus of a Christian life, and both conclude with a like exhortation to steadfastness in the Faith.

371. Interdependence of II Peter and Jude.—It is undeniable that II Peter and Jude have a number of passages in which one writer seems to have known and utilized the composition of the other. Often II Peter seems to clarify or explain Jude. Comparison may be made in the following examples:

Jude	II Peter
1:4: There have insinuated themselves certain persons, who of old had been forewritten unto this judgment(-season), impious ones, altering our God's grace to lewdness and denying our sole Master and Lord Jesus Christ.	2:1: There came likewise false prophets among the [ancient Hebrew] people, just as among you there were to be found false teachers, who would insinuate destructive sects and, denying the Master who had redeemed them, would bring upon themselves destruction.

In the Petrine text, the phrase "who had redeemed" seems to assign the reason why Jude calls Christ "our exclusive Master."

1:9: These . . . disregard ruling power, curse (=malign) dignitaries. But [even] Michael the archangel, when he contended with the devil, disputing over the body of Moses, dared not invoke a curse, but . . .

2:10b–11: (There are) presumptuously daring persons who recoil not from cursing (=maligning) dignitaries, when [even] angels, greater in strength and power (than they), do not invoke a curse upon each other before God.

Again St. Peter's "greater in strength and power" seems to clarify the appropriateness of Jude's example.

1:12: These are stains at your love-feasts, sharing therein without reverence, being their own pastors—waterless clouds borne about by the winds, fruitless autumn trees, twice dead, uprooted, wild sea-waves foaming over with their own shame, wandering stars—for whom the darksome netherworld unto eternity has been held.

2:13: (These are) stains and blemishes rioting in their enjoyments, sharing your feasts with you . . . 2:17: These are waterless fountains and storm-driven mists, for whom the darksome netherworld is being held.

Here Jude's obscure σπιλάδες (which literally means "rocks," perhaps "stones of stumbling," if the common reading be followed) is made unmistakably clear by St. Peter's σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι. The words ἀπάταις and ἀγάπαις sound so much alike that they may easily have become interchanged, as the variants witness. Peter's phrase, ἀπάταις, would tone down the terrible indictment of Jude's words. One should compare also II Pet. 2:15, with Jude 1:11; II Pet. 2:4–9, with Jude 1:5–7.

That II Peter and Jude are literarily related is unmistakable. But, to which writing should priority be assigned? It is difficult to say. St. Peter's seems generally more expansive and explanatory. Nor does the fact that St. Peter speaks of the false teachers in the future tense and Jude in the past, argue for Peter's priority. For he spoke from the standpoint of the Old Testament prophecies.

372. Addressees and Date.—On the supposition that the words of II Pet. 3:1: "Behold this second Epistle I write to you," refer to I Peter (and not to some lost Petrine letter), it is generally taken that II Peter has the same addressees as I Peter, namely the Christian communities of "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia" (I Pet. 1:1), comprising practically Asia Minor. The Epistle itself has no address except "To them that have obtained equal Faith with us" (II Pet. 1:1), nor are there any internal indications. It is assumed that this letter (like I Peter) was written from Rome, as St. Peter dwelt in that city shortly before his martyrdom there. And, although the Epistle nowhere declares or implies that the author is in prison, nevertheless he states that he knows his death is "at hand" (II Pet. 1:14–15). Indeed, the Epistle is written in order that the Christians "may keep a memory of these things" after the writer's decease. Hence the date of the letter should be placed not long before June, 64 (or 67), when St. Peter was martyred.

373. Errors Combated.—I Peter was intended to offset attacks upon the Faith from the *outside*—that is, from the pagan environment and influence to which the Asia Minor Christians were subject. II Peter, on the contrary, is almost entirely concerned with warning against enemies of the Faith who were boring from *within*—namely, nascent heretics. These are purveyors of "artificial fables" (II Pet. 1:16). They evidently used the Bible as a base; for St. Peter argues that, just as the Sacred Scriptures originated not from human knowledge and will, so also their right interpretation must be derived from the same divine authority which inspires them (I Pet. 1:20–21). They utilized even St. Paul's writings to bolster up their theories (II Pet. 3:15–16), no doubt perverting St. Paul's teaching on the liberty of Christians from the Mosaic ceremonial code into a "liberty" from all moral law and restraint. For "liberty" was their great catchword (II Pet. 2:19). By "speaking proud words of emptiness they allured by desires of carnal wantonness such as had, but a little before, escaped from those who wander in error"—that is, neophytes recently converted. The concluding exhortation

of the writer that his readers may "grow in grace and in the *knowledge* (γνῶσις) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (II Pet. 3:18), as well as the frequent mention of the ἐπίγνωσις of God or Christ (four times), seems to indicate that these false teachers claimed to preach a deeper and higher concept of religion, a super-knowledge which dispensed its initiates from the obligations of ordinary Christianity. Whilst there is no indication of specifically Gnostic errors, these sectarians may indeed have been close forerunners of the real Gnostics.

With high-sounding theories and scriptural expositions, these false teachers conjoined utmost relaxation in the moral plane, especially as regards sexual matters. They reeked of licentiousness, being "slaves of corruption," and abusing even the assemblies of the Christians in order to further their wanton desires.[7] Moreover, their teaching was largely for money's sake (II Pet. 2:3). Sadly the Prince of Apostles foresees that, through the immoralities of these men, the Christian religion, "the Way of Truth, shall be evil spoken of" (II Pet. 2:2). Here, then, may be traced to their real source the foul fables with which the Christians of a little later period were maligned.

374. The Proximate "Judgment."—These (or other) "clever scoffers" (II Pet. 3:3) also queried concerning Christ: "What about the promise of His *parousia?*" And throughout this Epistle St. Peter seems to have in mind "swift destruction" and judgment to come upon these evil-doers. If they were of Jewish origin or tendency (as their use of the Scriptures and their angelology[8] may indicate), then St. Peter might have a prophetic prescience of Jerusalem's destruction in mind, or he might be thinking of the terrific Neronian persecution soon to burst out—both of which events would serve to clear these false brethren from the ranks of the faithful at the same time that their eternal doom would be sealed, as in judgment, by their apostasy. Most probable here, however, would be the theory that St. Peter, when

[7] Many of these characteristics mark also the false teachers St. Paul warns against in II Timothy.

[8] Taking δόξας, in II Pet. 2:10 and Jude 1:8, as the equivalent of "angels."

speaking of a "prompt judgment" of the impious, had in view the coming destruction of the ancient pagan Roman Empire. It was not till then that Christ visibly "came into His Kingdom" ("What shall be the sign of Thy Coming?" Matt. 24:3), that is, that Christianity began to dominate the civilized social order.[9]

375. Content.—This Epistle (somewhat like II Timothy of St. Paul) gives, as it were, the last testament of St. Peter to the Church of which he had been made the first head. He realizes that his own end is approaching; he looks about on the present conditions of the Church, and makes recommendations to forestall its needs; he points out again its basic essential supernatural principles, the true γνῶσις. And the simplicity of this, as well as the solidity of its apostolic foundation, is contrasted with the elaborate and fanciful vagueness of those who were beginning to try to supplant the unadulterated Christianity of the Apostles with the "super-knowledge" of their own imaginings. The Prince of Apostles applies to these "wolves in sheep's clothing" the test which Christ Himself long ago had prescribed for such cases: "By their fruits you shall know them" (Matt. 7:16–23). He shows that the concrete, practical consequences of the false teachers' theories were not virtuous living, but rather a giving rein to carnal passions, self-aggrandizement, the acquisition of money.

It is made clear in this Epistle that the presence of heretics amongst Christians is not to be considered as an abnormal and absolutely destructive fact, but rather as a condition normally to be expected in view even of Old Testament types.[10]

[9] An excellent though concise comment on the Gospel teaching in regard to Christ's several "Comings" may be read in Cardinal Lépicier's *Diatesseron*, III, pp. 304–346 (Rome, 1926), where the author considers the "Great Eschatologic Discourse" of Matt. 24. It is advisable to distinguish between the cyclic *Adventus* of Christ throughout historic time, and the *Parousia* which will coincide with the final advent. The *adventus Christi in regnum suum* may be taken even individually for each person (infusion of supernatural life or grace, and death with the Particular Judgment); or nationally for races and peoples (as the destruction of Jerusalem for the Jews); or worldwide and cyclically recurring for the whole human race.

[10] The same truth was earlier expressed by Christ Himself in the Parables of the "Wheat and the Cockle," the "Net and Fishes," etc.

Nowhere is there the slightest indication that heresy will at any time overwhelm or destroy the Faith, although it is clear that the amount of the harvest will be diminished by the presence of the obnoxious weeds of heresy. The good and the godless are to live inextricably intermingled in the present life, their definitive separation being reserved to the time of the Second Coming. Yet, even now one is to expect such "judgments"—that is, such crises, providential turns of events—as will make evident and even already punish the falsehoods and wicked deeds of the godless.

In face of the fact that the false teachers will ever be claiming to fit Christianity to the times, to accommodate its principles to the changing knowledge and needs of humanity, in short, to naturalize the supernatural, St. Peter admonishes true Christians to bear in mind that the present life and world is after all not permanent either for each of them individually or for the whole human race; but transitory, to be eventually exchanged for a condition far different and better. Hence, Christians are to evaluate the requirements of the present life from the standpoint of the future one. They are not to let themselves be fooled by the loud-mouthed errors of the self-seeking unwise, but rather to "grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ" (II Pet. 3:18).

Art 5: FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN

376. Author John the Apostle.—Regarding the authorship of I John, no doubt deserving consideration has ever been raised. The Muratorian Canon specifically quotes its opening words as John the Apostle's. Several of the ancient Christian writers cite it, naming John the Apostle as its author.[1] Eusebius adduces Origen as a witness to the same effect.[2]

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Pædagog.*, III, 11 (cites I John 5:3), and also *Stromata*, II, 15; Tertullian, *Scorp.*, 12 (I John 3:16), and also *Adv. Marcion.*, V, 16, and *Adv. Prax.*, 15; Cyprian, *Epist. xxiii*, 2 (I John 2:3–4), and *Epist. lxix*, 1 (=I John 2:18); Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, III, 16 (I John 2:18).

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 25; see also *ibid.*, III, 24; XXV, 2.

And the critical St. Jerome wrote: "Scripsit autem Ioannes unam epistolam quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur."[3] The Alogi rejected this, as also the other works of St. John, not on critical but on dogmatic grounds.

377. Similarity with Fourth Gospel.—Both thought and language of I John are unmistakably like those of the Fourth Gospel. The characteristic ideas of "Truth, Light, Life" are here likewise contrasted with "Darkness" and "the World." Whole phrases may be paralleled, as follows:

I John	Fourth Gospel
"And we have seen and we testify" (1:2).	"Which we have seen and we testify" (3:11).
"He walketh about in the darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth" (2:11).	"One walking about in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth" (12:35).
"(This is the victory) conquering the world" (5:4).	"I have conquered the world" (16:33).

The peculiarities of Johannine style are quite evident in this Epistle also. Thus, in his thought-progress, St. John frequently links his ideas by making the opening of his new sentence or phrase repeat or echo the last part of the sentence preceding.[4] The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel is an outstanding example. In this Epistle one reads:

". . . and the blood of Jesus His Son cleanses us from every sin. If we say that we have not sin, we deceive ourselves . . ." (1 John 1:7–8). ". . . because we love the brethren. He who loveth not, remaineth in death. Every one who hateth his brother is a murderer—and you know that no murderer hath Life eternal dwelling in him" (I John 3:15).

Again, St. John's dramatic sense revels in antitheses. These also abound in the present Epistle. The "children of God" are contrasted with the "children of the Devil" (I John 3:10); "fear" with "love" (4:16–18), etc.

Again, I John manifests in its author the same view of the universe—an identical interpretation of man's relation-

[3] St. Jerome, *De Viris Illus.*, IX.

[4] The term "shoe-lace style" describes this Johannine peculiarity inelegantly but graphically.

ship to God and of the purpose of the Incarnation—as is found in the Fourth Gospel. God has sent His Son into the world to save it, to give it Life (I John 2:2; compare John 3:14). This sending of His Son witnesses to God's love for men, and implies fraternal charity as a consequence (I John 4:9; compare John 3:16). Following Christ brings on the world's hatred (I John 3:13; compare John 15:18; 17:14).

378. For Whom Written?—In St. Augustine's commentary and by Cassiodorus[5] this Epistle is entitled "Ad Parthos," but no explanation of this is offered. The letter itself has no address. The destinataries are spoken of tenderly as τεκνία and παιδία—"little children." But this does not seem to imply that they are St. John's own converts (as Paul implies in Galatians 4:19). They are probably of Gentile origin (I John 5:21?), and have been Christians for a considerable time (I John 2:7 *ss.*, 20, 27). From this one may conjecture that this Epistle was addressed to the various congregations of the Province of Asia Minor, of which St. John at Ephesus was the revered head.

379. I John and Fourth Gospel.—Is I John a covering letter or introduction to the publication of the Fourth Gospel? Already the author of the Muratorian Canon said that St. John in his Epistle showed himself to be "non solum visorem sed auditorem *sed et scriptorem*" of Christ's wonderful works, and he read or translated the γράφομεν of I John 1:4 as *scripsimus,* as if referring to a Gospel previously written.[6] Of interest in this connection are the variations in tense of the verb "write" in I John 2:12–14. Where the Vulgate has simply *scribo* in all five places, in the Greek the verb is γράφω (I am writing) the first three times, and ἔγραψα (I wrote) in the second group of three.[7] The first group of three (I am writing) would seem to refer to the content of the Epistle itself; and the other group of three (I wrote) might

[5] Cassiodorus, *De Div. Instit.*, XIV.

[6] See also Clement of Alexandria as cited by Eusebius in *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 25.

[7] The combination νεανίσκοι . . . νενικήκατε may be punning. The Greek text has a second "Fathers" clause, which is not found in the Latin Vulgate.

allude to a previous writing of either the Apocalypse or the Gospel. The implication would be: I write to you now the same things I wrote you previously (in the Apocalyse or my Gospel). The groups in question may be compared in the following arrangement:

I am writing unto you,
little ones (= generic address),
because your sins are forgiven
through His name;—

Fathers,
because you acknowledged Him
Who is 'from the beginning,'—

Youths,
because you have conquered the Evil One,—

just as (?)

I wrote unto you,
babes,
because you acknowledged the Father;

Fathers,
because you acknowledged Him
who is 'from the beginning,'—

Youths,
because you are strong, and God's
word remaineth in you, and you
have conquered the Evil One.

This argumentation, however, is not conclusive, since at least in I John 2:26, the writer uses the past (aorist) tense, ἔγραψα (wrote), to indicate matter treated earlier in the same writing (or in the Apocalypse?).

380. Plan and Content.—This Epistle appears to be a very old man's rambling exhortation to much-beloved spiritual children. A definite plan is scarcely discernible. Without any epistolary address, the introduction parallels very much the prologue to the Fourth Gospel (I John 1:1–5). The individual sentences are simple and clear, easily intelligible. But to see their connection, their linking into the larger context, is frequently difficult—an obscurity characteristic of Johannine style.

Like most of the "Catholic" Epistles,[8] I John deals largely with "works"—men's deeds and misdeeds—although in this

[8] See St. Augustine, *De Fide et Operibus*, XIV.

Epistle there is incidentally a considerable admixture of dogmatic declaration. The burden of thought is that "God being Light" (absolute knowledge, and righteousness itself in activity), those who profess to be His followers, to have κοινωνίαν (fellowship) with Him, may not permit in themselves any "darkness"—either lack of knowledge of truth or lack of ordering of life and deeds in conformity to God's will. "In this we know whether we are really of Christ's party—if we keep His commandments" (I John 2:3). Hence, hating one's neighbor is incompatible with profession of Christianity (I John 2:9–11). One cannot love both God and the world (I John 2:15–17).

There are some, formerly Christians and still claiming to be Christ's followers, who refuse to profess, or indeed deny, some essential attribute of Christ, some primitive teaching of Christian doctrine (I John 2:18 *ss.*). These have become in fact Anti-Christians.[9] These are a sign that the world is in its state of final perfectioning, "the last hour" (I John 2:18), "that the Darkness is passing, and the true Light is already beginning to shine" (I John 2:8).

381. Sin Incompatible with Sonship.—Christians must remember that they have been regenerated into children of God even here below. In sanctifying grace they have, as it were, the supernatural parent stock indwelling in them. But misdeeds, mortal sins, abolish the state of supernatural sonship; hence, unrighteousness is incompatible with divine sonship. Such sins are grouped chiefly as disbelief (theory) and misaction (practice), the latter particularly relative to one's neighbor. Against these is set the divine precept: "that we believe in the name (ὀνόματι, *i.e.*, religion) of His Son Jesus Christ; and that we love one another" (I John 3:23).

Various religions are not to be lightly accepted, but to be tested (I John 4:1), since many false prophets are abroad. And this is the test: any religion (πνεῦμα) which denies either the real humanity or the genuine divinity of Christ, thus

[9] It is probable that the immediate reference is to Ebionite heretics, or followers of Simon Magus or Cerinthus.

destroying His real double nature, is anti-Christian, and "not of God." So much for belief or "theory."

382. Parallel Trinities.—As for "practice," well, "if God hath so loved us, we too must love one another" (I John 4:11). For, "he who loveth not his brother who is visible to him, how can he love God whom he cannot see?" (I John 4:20). Love of God, then, makes men believe rightly of Christ, and love their fellows (I John 5:1 *ss.*). To believe rightly of Christ includes holding to the genuineness of His humanity, the reality of His immaterial soul (= "spirit") as also the reality of His material body, which was not a mere fiction of real matter ("water") to the eye, but a true human body, living through and conjoined to its soul by the blood. These three—"water," "blood," "soul"—united in one to form the humanity of Christ, are symbolic of the ineffable Trinity of Persons in God: consequently, to deny the human triuneness which makes Christ a real man, is like denying the Trinity of Persons in the One Divine Nature (I John 5:6–8, Vulgate). Not to believe rightly of Christ, is to make God a liar (I John 5:10). Right belief in Christ is at the very base of men's supernatural life (I John 5:11–13).

Christians should confidently pray for forgiveness of both their own sins and those of others. But obstinacy in misbelief, a sin which has utterly destroyed life supernatural in a man's soul, has on that account made it almost impossible to obtain conversion again through the prayers of others alone. Christians, being of divine stock by grace, cannot compromise with the world. Let them, then, beware of the world's figments, which are, like idols, lifeless.

A certain sadness seems to permeate St. John's writing. In his old age, he realizes the complexity of problems and temptations, especially of heresies, which Christ's followers have to face as the Church grows and expands in the world. On account of this very complexity, he seems to exhort Christians to be ever mindful of the simplicity of their first principles: to believe what God has revealed of Himself; to realize their divine sonship, as Christ's brethren, whereby their lives must run on the supernatural plane; and in action, as God's

activity towards them has been utter love in order to save them, so also their own activity in regard to their fellows must be primarily love. All these principles are quite contrary to those of the world; hence, the influence of the latter must be shunned.

383. The "Comma Iohanneum."—Much discussion has centered about I John 5:7: "Because there are three who give testimony in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost—and these three are one" (Clementine Vulgate). The MSS. and patristic evidence for the presence in the original of these words or their equivalent is, to say the least, very uncertain. There is nothing against them from internal evidence, as they fit fairly into the context. But the question is: Was an equivalent of this *comma* actually written in by St. John, and later excised or lost from the bulk of the MSS.? Or was the sentence originally lacking and later supplied from an explanatory gloss in the margin?[10] Lebel has summed up recent opinion on the passage as follows: "This text, which has long been in the Vulgate, and appears in the greater number of its MSS., is, according to the opinion of the greater number of modern Catholic theologians, interpolated."[11] He goes on to say: "Hence, it would not be critically conformable to the original, since it is not the translation of any corresponding text. . . . Taken in itself, this text is not the word of God, but it is conformable to God's word. . . . One should not use it as a scriptural argument; but it can serve as the base for an argument from tradition."

384. Against the Passage.—"No words corresponding exactly to the bracketed passage ('in heaven . . . on earth') are to be found in a single one of the 250 Greek MSS. that contain the adjoining verses. Any words at all like them are

[10] Note Decree of Holy Office, January 15, 1897: "*Q.* Utrum tuto negari aut saltem in dubium revocari possit esse authenticum textum (I Ioan. 5:7)? *Resp.*, Negative." The word *authenticum* must here be taken as "official," as in the Tridentine declaration regarding the entire Vulgate. The query did not ask whether the passage was to be considered as expressly from the hagiographer's hand. See also *Revue Biblique*, 1898, pp. 149 *ss.*

[11] Leon Lebel, S.J., in *La Nouvelle France*, April, 1917, p. 169.

found only in four Greek MSS.,[12] all written after 1400, with suspicions of forgery in every case. They are never quoted by any Greek writer till 1215, even when discussing the doctrine of the Trinity and adducing texts to prove it. They were unknown to the Christians of Georgia, Russia, Armenia, of Persia, Arabia and Syria, of Abyssinia and Egypt; for the numerous versions of these countries omitted them. They are not even found in any Latin MS. earlier than the 7th century, nor in any used by Alcuin in 800. While the great mass of Latin MSS. contain them, they appear at first after verse 8, and often as inserted by a later writer. The first express quotation is by the Bishop of Carthage in 484 (486?) in a confession drawn up for a king leaning to Unitarianism.[13] As late as Jerome, Augustine and Pope Leo, the words themselves were unknown in the Latin text."[14]

385. For the Passage.—The disputed text of "the Three Heavenly Witnesses" is found first in African and Spanish writers. Thus, St. Fulgentius (died 532) writes against the Arians: "Beatus enim Ioannes apostolus testatur dicens: 'Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et tres unum sunt.'"[15] St. Cyprian wrote earlier: "Dicit Dominus: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus.' Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: 'Et hi tres unum sunt.'"[16] An internal indication may be seen in the fact that the "the spirit and the water and the blood," in the undisputed parallel, are spoken of as persons. For, although τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ και τὸ αἷμα are all three neuter, nevertheless, the hagiographer both at the beginning and the end of the sentence, referring to these words, speaks of them in the masculine as persons (τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες . . . καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν). There can scarcely be doubt but

[12] In the minuscule *Codex Montfortiannus* of Trinity College, Dublin, it may have been introduced from the Vulgate by the English friar Roy. They are in *Cod. Regius* (11th century?) and *Cod. Ottoboniensis.*

[13] See Victor Vitensis, *Historia Persecutionis,* III, 11, for formula drawn up for Arian Vandal kings by the African Episcopate.

[14] W. T. Whitney, in Gould prize essays, *Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared* (Scribner, 1908), p. 45.

[15] Fulgentius, *Contra Obiectiones Arianorum.*

[16] Cyprian, *De Unitate Eccl.,* VI.

that St. John had in mind the Trinity when he wrote the "earthly witnesses" passage—but as a by-product, indirectly, through a Johannine symbolic association of ideas. The three-in-oneness of "spirit," "water," "blood"—namely, divinity of Person, material body, immaterial soul, combined in Christ—remind the hagiographer of the Trinity in the Godhead—the "spirit" (πνεῦμα), standing perhaps for the Holy Ghost; the "water" (in sense of *materia prima*) for the Father, to whom Creation is ascribed; and "blood" for the Son, the Logos and Redeemer through shedding of His blood. The questioned "Heavenly Witnesses" clause seems to be but the express statement of an idea latent in the "earthly witnesses."

APPENDIX

Decree of Holy Office on "Comma Ioanneum" (I John 5:7)

Utrum tuto negari aut saltem in dubium revocari possit esse authenticum textum I Ioan. 5:7 qui sic se habet: "Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt." *Resp.* Negative.

The date of this is January 15, 1897. This decree was followed by a *Declaratio* at first issued privately, and later published by the same Congregation under date of June 2, 1927. The text (from *Biblica*, Vol. VIII, 1927, p. 494) is as follows:

Decretum hoc latum est, ut coerceretur audacia privatorum doctorum ius sibi tribuentium authentiam commatis Ioannei aut penitus reiciendi aut ultimo iudicio saltem in dubium vocandi. Minime vero impedire voluit, quominus scriptores catholici rem plenius investigarent atque, argumentis hinc inde accurate perpensis, cum ea, quam rei gravitas requirit, moderatione et temperantia, in sententiam genuinitati contrariam inclinarent, modo profiterentur se paratos esse stare iudicio Ecclesiæ, cui a Iesu Christo munus demandatum est Sacras Literas non solum interpretandi, sed etiam fideliter custodiendi.

Art. 6: SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN

386. Canonicity and Authenticity.—Two causes may be conjectured to have contributed towards the uncertainty displayed by early ecclesiastical writers in regard to the canonicity and authenticity of II and III John. The first was probably the brevity of these writings, and the fact that they

were considered addressed to individual private persons—as III John surely is (like Philemon). The second reason for hesitation might have been that the writer of both calls himself simply ὁ πρεσβύτερος—"the Presbyter"—without giving his name. Now, a "John the Presbyter" [1] was known in Asia Minor as a disciple of John Zebedee, the Apostle. From the qualificative, "the Presbyter," it was thought that these two letters might be the work of the former, and not of the Apostle.

However, testimonies for the early use and canonical recognition of II and III John are not lacking. The Muratorian Canon has it that "suprascripti [2] Ioannis duæ [Epistolæ] in [Ecclesia] catholica habentur" (*scil.*, ut canonicæ). This can mean only II and III John, since the author (who is very partial to the Johannine works) had previously mentioned I John by a quotation therefrom. A cloud, however, lies on this evidence. For the writer seems to parallel the authenticity of these Johannine Epistles to that of the Book of Wisdom, by immediately subjoining the obscure "et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honore ipsius scripto."

Eusebius says: "Among the disputed writings, which nevertheless are recognized by many, are extant . . . those that are called the Second and Third of John, whether they belong to the Evangelist or to another of the same name." [3] The same writer has preserved the words of Origen: "He (John) has left us also an Epistle of very few lines, perhaps also a Second and Third; but not all consider them genuine." St. Jerome seems but to repeat the doubts of Eusebius, saying: "Reliquæ duæ Ioannis presbyteri asseruntur . . . [traditur] a plerisque duas posteriores Epistolas Ioannis non Apostoli esse sed Presbyteri." [4] St. Ireneus cites II John

[1] See Nos. 94–100 above on the matter of distinction to be made between St. John the Apostle and "John the Presbyter."

[2] The "supersc*rictio*" of the corrupt text is due to dittography of the immediately following "*I*ohannis."

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 25, 3; see also *ibid.*, VII, 25, 11; *Demonstratio Evangelica*, III, 5; and *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 25, 10.

[4] Jerome, *De Viris Illust.*, IX, XVIII. Elsewhere, making use of II or III John, St. Jerome seems quite favorable to their authenticity (*Epist. liii ad Paulinam*, 8; *cxxiii ad Ageruchiam*, 12).

1:11 and II John 1:7–8 textually[5] as of "John, the Lord's disciple."

A curious error is to be seen in the statement of Clement of Alexandria: "Secunda Ioannis Epistola, quæ *ad virgines* scripta, est simplicissima. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine; significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ."[6] The Latin translator reads the πρὸς πάρθους of his original, as πρὸς παρθένους, thus making the addressees of the letter "virgins," instead of "Parthians." This address—"To the Parthians"—is found in a few Greek minuscules, and was transferred also to I John. Evidently, Clement of Alexandria here sees some connection with the "Babylon" of I Pet. 5:13.

387. Internal Evidence.—The very anonymity of the writer of II and III John may be reckoned in favor of Johannine authorship, the "Presbyter" here being a parallel to the "the Disciple whom Jesus loved" in the Fourth Gospel. As primate of the Asia Minor ecclesiastical group after St. Paul's death, the Apostle, John Zebedee, would favor such an humble self-designation, just as St. Peter, writing to the presbyters of probably about the same churches, set himself down simply as a "fellow-presbyter" (I Pet. 5:1). In both these brief Epistles are numerous thoughts and phrases which elsewhere mark the Johannine writings: "to know the Truth," "in Truth," "in love," "go out of the world," "have the Son," "be of God," etc. Compare II John 1:7 with I John 2:22; II John 1:9 with John 14:23; II John 1:5 with I John 2:7, 3:11, and John 13:34; also III John 1:11 with I John 3:10, 4:7.

Lastly, it is to be noted that the writer of II and III John speaks as a well-known and important personage in the Church. His is the function of judging whether one "walks in the truth" (II John 11:2–4; III John 1:1–4). He authoritatively threatens, punishes, corrects disorders in a church where he does not reside, and that church considers his judgment beyond discussion (III John 1:10–12). All this points,

[5] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.*, I, 16, 3, and III, 16, 8.
[6] Clement of Alexandria, *Adumbrationes*, IV, 737. See No. 378 above.

not to the subordinate "John the Presbyter," but to the governing primate of Asia Minor, St. John the Apostle.

388. II John.—Some would still maintain that II John is a private letter addressed to a certain lady, "Electa." But, aside from the fact that in such case this lady is supposed to have a sister bearing the very same name ("The children of thy sister Electa greet thee!" I John 1:13), there are not wanting indications that this Epistle is directed to a Christian community, designated as the "Chosen Lady." The concept of the Church as the Bride of Christ is both Johannine (Apoc. 21:9; John 3:29) and Pauline (Eph. 5:32), Paul applying the term also to an individual congregation (II Cor. 11:2). The "children" of the Chosen Lady (II John 1:1, 4) are the members of some unknown Asia Minor Christian church, and they are greeted at the close by the "children" or members of the community from which St. John writes—just as in I Pet. 5:13 "the Fellow Chosen One (female) in Babylon" (ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή) sends greetings to the churches St. Peter is addressing. Everywhere else in the New Testament, the term ἐκλεκτός (chosen) is used impersonally as a characteristic qualification of Christians: it is strange that here the Vulgate version should have made of it a proper name.

The substance of the whole letter is a warning against heretics, and contains a prohibition to extend hospitality to them. But the phrase is: "Receive him not εἰς οἰκίαν" (II John 1:10), where one would expect the article (εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν), if a specific family's home were meant. It would certainly appear strange that a mere widow with children should have addressed to her such weighty warnings against heretics, whereas the latter fit well into the hypothesis that the Epistle is addressed to a Christian community.

This letter is truly "epistolary." After the opening greetings, St. John rejoices at the general good conduct of the unnamed community. Then appears the traditional commandment of St. John's old age: "Love one another!" This is followed by an exhortation to continue steadfast in the faith received of yore. Alas! many are appearing who, deny-

ing the Incarnation, are veritable Anti-Christs. These are to be strictly avoided.[7] The writer hopes soon to make a personal visit, and subjoins greetings from the community where he dwells.

One may but conjecture that the letter was written at Ephesus, the metropolitan city, in St. John's old age. Attempts to date it relative to the other Johannine writings, seem futile.

389. III John.—According to Belser, the background occasioning III John may have been as follows. From Ephesus, John had sent some missionaries to another Christian community of Asia Minor. Arriving there, these men had been refused hospitality by Diotrephes, who was either the presbyter of, or otherwise prominent in, that community. This Diotrephes even dared to speak ill of the venerable metropolitan.[8] Moreover, he threatened to excommunicate any one who would give the missionaries hospitality. Despite this, Gaius, the person to whom the letter is addressed, courteously received the missionaries and took care of them. These, on their return, gave an account at Ephesus of how they had been treated, and praised the kindness of Gaius. Thereupon, St. John had written (ἔγραψα, III John 1:9) to that church, but his letter had been suppressed by Diotrephes. So now the Presbyter sends this private note of appreciation to Gaius, at the same time promising to come personally to regulate the matter of Diotrephes, and reprove the latter. Lastly, Demetrius, who may have been the bearer of this letter, is warmly recommended.

The phrasing of this letter is very like that of II John. The expression: "We too give testimony, and thou knowest that our testimony is true" (III John 1:12), is strikingly

[7] The detail of this is agreeable to the ancient account that when St. John, on entering the public bath, found Cerinthus (the early heretic whom he opposed)) enjoying the same waters, he said: "Let us leave lest the building collapse upon us!"

[8] Belser conjectures that Diotrephes was a bishop, because he seems to have the power to "throw out of the Church" or excommunicate. Moreover, according to this letter, it was primarily his duty to extend hospitality to Christian brethren, as laid down in I Tim. 3:2, Tit. 1:8, and I Pet. 4:8.

like John 19:35 ("And he that saw it hath given testimony, and his testimony is true"), as well as like that other passage (generally taken to have been written by John's disciples): "This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things . . . and we know that his testimony is true" (John 21:24).

If the Gaius mentioned in this letter were identifiable with the Gaius at Corinth whom St. Paul praises (Rom. 16:23) as "my host," then the church in which Diotrephes made such trouble might be that of Corinth, and this would be another indication of the Corinthians' persistent inclination to factions and cliques, which St. Paul and St. Clement of Rome both found necessary to correct.

By the exhortations to mutual love, John shows the kindness of his naturally affectionate character. But, by the sharp threats he utters againts Diotrephes, he makes clear that there is still in him the fiery zeal wherewith once he wished to call down lightning upon the cities of the Samaritans (Luke 9:54)—that zeal which had made the Saviour designate him and his brother, James the Greater, as "Sons of Thunder, the Thunderers" (Mark 3:17).

Art. 7: THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE

390. Authenticity and Canonicity.—The author of this Epistle calls himself in its opening: "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ" (probably alluding to his Apostleship), "brother of James." The significance of that last detail has been noted above.[1] It is commonly taken to be a reference to the writer's relationship to St. James, the celebrated first Bishop of Jerusalem. That St. Jude at the same time does not allude to his blood-relationship to Jesus (as St. James also omits to do in his Epistle), may be an indication that he is not writing to the Jerusalem community (where such matters were highly rated), but primarily to other Christians.

The purport of Jude 1:3 seems to be: "I was about to compose an instruction on Christian faith to you when I

[1] See No. 351 above.

found myself obliged to write a warning (against threatening heretics).'' The exhortation: ''Be mindful of the words beforehand spoken to you by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ'' (Jude 1:17), is an unmistakable indication that the Epistle was composed in Apostolic times. One is directed to the same conclusion by the undeniable relationship between II Peter and Jude,[2] especially if the priority of the latter is held.

The Muratorian Canon says: ''Epistola sane Iudæ in catholica habetur.'' Tertullian calls its author ''Iudas Apostolus.''[3] Clement of Alexandria[4] cites this Epistle expressly under the name of Jude, and considers it an apostolic writing. Origen also considers it apostolic.[5] Eusebius states the position of the Epistles of both James and Jude as follows:[6] ''James is said to be the author of the first of the Epistles called 'Catholic.' But it is to be noted that it is disputed—at least, not many of the Ancients have mentioned it—which is likewise the case with the Epistle bearing Jude's name, also one of the seven so-called 'Catholic' Epistles. Nevertheless, we know that these also, with the others, have been publicly read in a great many churches.''

St. Jerome indicates the reason that may have made the older ecclesiastical writers hesitate about acknowledging the canonicity of Jude:[7] ''Judas, frater Iacobi, parvam quæ de septem catholicis est Epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Henoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonia, a plerisque reiicitur—tamen auctoritate iam et usu meruit et inter sanctas computatur.''

Lastly may be adduced the testimony of St. Augustine, who says: ''Iudas . . . cuius Epistola inter Scripturas canonicas legitur.''[8]

391. Addressees and Occasion.—Nothing definite as to the

[2] See No. 371 above.
[3] Tertullian, *De Cultu Fœmin.*, I, 3.
[4] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, III, ii, 11; see also *Pædagog.*, III, viii.
[5] Origen, *De Princip.*, I, iii, 2; *Comment. in Matt.*, x, 17.
[6] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 23, 25; see also *ibid.*, VI, 13–14.
[7] Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.*, IV.
[8] Augustine, *Tract. lxxvi in Ioan.*, 1.

addressees of this Epistle is to be learned from its being sent "to the elect beloved (or "sanctified") in God the Father and preserved in Jesus Christ" (Jude 1:1). It must have been written to communities where newly arising heretics of Gnostic tendencies were rampant. This does not point to Jerusalem so much as to Asia Minor. Moreover, the observance of the Mosaic ceremonial safeguards by the Judeo-Christians of Palestine would of itself tend to make them slow to listen to and admit foreign false teachers who threw down all barriers to immorality, as did the heretics combated in Jude. On the other hand, the references to such popular Jewish apocalyptic works as the *Book of Henoch* and the *Assumption of Moses* in this Epistle, as well as the allusions to Old Testament incidents, point to prospective readers who, if not Jews (of the Dispersion), were at least familiar with Jewish writings.

The date of the composition of Jude is to be set not later than that of St. Peter's death (A.D. 67?), if the opinion that II Peter utilized Jude be preferred. In any case, its writing precedes Jerusalem's fall (A.D. 70). It cannot well be placed much earlier than A.D. 66 or 67, as the errors and heretics combated seem to be about the same as those against which II Peter is directed.

392. Content.—Very simple and direct in purpose is the Epistle of St. Jude: it aims to denounce nascent heretics and their errors. The author is anxious "to fight for the Faith already taught the sanctified" (Jude 1:3). The latter have "already known everything" (Jude 1:5) as transmitted to them by the Apostles (Jude 1:17). Now they are warned against those who would corrupt or pervert this doctrine, "certain impious men who have sneaked in to change God's grace [of salvation] into immorality, and to deny our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ" (Jude 1:4). Then he launches into a terrific diatribe against the character of these men, comparing them to horrible examples taken from Old Testament history. Disgusting is their immorality; they spurn all discipline; they malign even angelic powers (Jude 1:8). What they do not understand (of revealed religion),

they malign and curse. What they do happen to know of natural science—matters of which even the brutes have the right sense—in those very things these men are worse corrupted (Jude 1:10). They are "complaining murmurers, living according to their selfish desires, their mouth talking magnificent nothings, whilst they flatter persons for gain sake" (Jude 1:16). Surely the terrific punishments which overtook the Old Testament seducers and rebels await also these (Jude 1:15).

There is nothing subtile or fine-spun about the direct and plain denunciations of St. Jude. His conclusion is equally simple and straightforward (Jude 1:20–21): "But you, dearly beloved, keep yourselves in God's love, building yourselves upon your most holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, abiding our Lord Jesus Christ's mercy unto life eternal!"

And then follows practical advice in regard to the heretics previously denounced. The text fluctuates somewhat (Jude 1:22–23): "As for those indeed who are fixed and set apart [in their heresy], argue against them (reading ἐλέγχετε with *AC**Vulg., instead of ἐλεᾶτε), save them as by snatching them out of the fire. But on others have pity cautiously, at the same time hating the garment stained by the flesh." [9]

393. Apocryphal Allusions.—As St. Jerome already noted, the author of Jude made use of certain apocryphal writings in this Epistle. Thus, the incident of the altercation between Michael the Archangel and Satan regarding the disposal of the body of Moses (Jude 1:9) is, according to Origen,[10] found in the *Assumptio Moysis,* where it is related that Satan desired to seize the body of Moses in order to present it to the Israelites that they might be tempted to worship it, but Michael prevented him. The fragment preserved of this book [11] contains really only the "Testament of Moses," telling

[9] The allusion is probably to ritual precepts regarding "leprosy" in garments of Lev. 13:47–59, as well as to the uncleanness of Lev. 15:1–12—which ceremonial precepts were at the same time figures of the interior purity to be demanded of God's true Chosen People of the future.

[10] Origen, *De Principiis,* III, ii, 1.

[11] An Old-Latin text, probably translated from the Greek, found by

how Moses appointed Josue his successor, gave him oracle books to keep, revealed to him the course of Israel's history till the Messianic season, and encouraged him. The second part, no doubt relating Moses' "assumption" and the altercation between Michael and Satan, has not been preserved. As the book pictures Herod the Great, it would seem to have been written shortly after the birth of Christ. St. Jude in this matter may have utilized, not so much the *Assumptio Moysis* itself, as a common oral tradition incorporated by the author of that book also in his work. It is noteworthy that II Pet. 2:10–11, referring to the same matter, so generalizes it that an apocryphal provenance would be unrecognizable.

The case for the quotation from the *Book of Henoch* in Jude 1:14–15 is somewhat different. There a direct quotation is given, to which fairly corresponds the present Ethiopic text (I, 9) of this apocryphal work: "He cometh with His myriads and with His saints to perform judgment over all and to destroy all the impious, and He shall convict all flesh (= every man) concerning all the works of their impiety which they have done impiously, and the harsh words they have spoken, and concerning all things which impious sinners have spoken against Him."

Although the *Book of Henoch,* in its present condition, is rather a mixed compilation, its oldest parts may be dated about 135–106 B.C., its more recent about the time of Herod the Great (= 40–4 B.C.). Henoch literature is rather abundant amongst the apocrypha, and indicates a strong current of Jewish tradition in regard to this patriarch's having been a preacher and revelator of supernal teachings, which continued in the memory and the mouths of the Jews.

Of course, the inspired author of Jude by these allusions or quotations nowise guaranteed or approved the absurdities comprising the bulk of these apocrypha, any more than St. Paul approved or considered inspired the writings of heathen poets from which he quoted.

Ceriani at Milan and published in 1861 by him in *Monumenta sacra et profana,* I, 1. See Lagrange in *Revue Biblique,* 1905, p. 481 *ss.*

SEVENTH PART

THE APOCALYPSE

Hoc Ecclesiæ proprium est, ut tunc vincat cum læditur, tunc intelligatur cum arguitur, tunc obtineat cum deseritur.

S. Hilarius, De Trinitate, VII, 4.

This Jesus you have, brethren—the Door, the Light, the Way, the Bread, the Water, the Life, the Resurrection, the Refreshment, the Pearl, the Treasure, the Seed, the Satisfaction, the Mustard Grain, the Vine, the Plow, Grace, Faith, and Word. He is All, and none is there greater than He.

Acta Petri, I.

SEVENTH PART

THE APOCALYPSE

PROLEGOMENON

394. The obscurities of the Apocalyse have been too frequently over-emphasized, and many readers thereby deterred from a study of this most interesting and valuable Book—which fittingly occupies the closing position of the whole Bible, as it is in a manner a synthesis and summary of the deepest meanings embodied in all the rest of Sacred Scripture. Here are sketched in broadest outlines the great factors and motives which brought about any written revelation at all from God to man. Here are indicated the A and the Ω of the Bible, as well as of man.

A certain amount of obscurity is unavoidable in prophetic writings, and the Apocalypse is eminently such. Especially at the time of its first publication many things therein must have appeared hazy and dim. But since then fulfilling events have clarified the sense, and scripturists have thrown light on its enigmas. Christians of the present day have thus the same advantage over the Christians of eighteen centuries ago in understanding this Book, which the latter had over the ancient Jews for the interpretation of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. The full sense of divinely revealed predictions is seen only upon their fulfillment.

The Apocalypse is not historical like the Gospels, nor didactic and exhortatory like the Epistles: it is prophetic, filled with predictions, and the latter are couched in symbols. Predictions never are as clear as accounts of events that have already taken place. Their realization alone brings out their full significance and bearing. Moreover, they are generally

but sketches, summaries, of what is to be accomplished. And in all cases the language of symbolism adds special difficulties for those who are not familiar with the prophetic thought and style of the Old Testament, and do not take into account the peculiar trend of mind of the late Jewish age as manifested in the extra-canonical apocalyptic writings.

395. Symbolic Values.—As the world future is unrolled before St. John's prophetic gaze, he sets down its phases in tableaux and symbolic pictures. Through his pen the most spiritual and abstract generalizations take on bodily form. Inanimate objects act and speak; God's ministers appear as angels, stars, or creatures of extraordinarily fantastic form. The Roman Empire or the State becomes a "city," the Church a "temple," the progress of evangelization a "two-edged sword." A name is expressed by a cipher, and numbers receive values altogether indeterminate and relative. A "thousand years" signify a long period only, "ten days" a brief time.

The first mistake made by students unfamiliar with prophetic and symbolic writing is to take all these emblems literally as physical realities: earthquakes, falling stars, martyrs that come to life again, demons chained, etc. To this add ignorance of the early history of the Church, of the first persecutions, of the invasions and ravages of the Barbarians, of the decadence and corruption of the late Roman Empire, and the apocalyptic riddles seem insoluble.

396. Apocalyptic Numbers.—The numbers appearing so frequently in the Apocalypse are to be read as equally symbolical with the rest of the figures, and not as of exact mathematic value. Nor are even the things numbered to be considered as having to each other the exact proportion or relationship of the numbers themselves. Thus, in apocalyptic language a duration of "seven years" is not necessarily just twice as long as "three and a half years," and the 144,000 persons of one passage are really the "innumerable multitude" of another.

Numbers like "two," "three," "four," "seven," "twelve," are by association linked with certain truths, cer-

tain laws, or certain categories, so that they (at least to the Semitic and especially the apocalyptic mind) immediately suggest the themes with which they are originally and conventionally allied. Thus, "two" is the conventional number for witnesses required to establish a fact judicially. Hence, the disciples were sent out "two by two" by Christ to evangelize; and there are "two witnesses" who bear testimony to Christ during the persecutions suffered by the Church (Apoc. 11:3). The number "three" is sacred to the Godhead, the Trinity, and everything divine. On the contrary, "four" (figured in the square) is emblematic of the physical world, the earth with its limited extension, the four points of the compass, the four winds, etc. The number "four" joined to "three" makes the "seven"; hence, the latter is symbolic of the union of creation with the Divinity, and is consecrated to all that pertains thereto, but especially to the Incarnation and its consectaries, religion and everything connected therewith. "Seven" at the same time connotes a certain totality, perfection—as a full week. But "six" (like a week minus the Sabbath or God's day) signifies a lack, an imperfection, a shortcoming, an evil—in so far as evil is but the lack of good. Hence the cipher for the acme of evil; the Anti-Christ is "six" thrice repeated, 666. "Three and a half"—as the half of "seven"—connotes something incomplete, unfinished; whilst "twelve," on the other hand, stands for universality in time or space. It may also indicate, especially in its multiples (24, 144,000), nature as completely restored to its original position in the divine world-plan. It is through association by contrast and opposition that the forces and movements hostile to proper union of creation with the Creator—to religion, in short—are also marked with the "seven," like the "seven heads" of the Sea-Beast and the Dragon.[1]

The reader of the Apocalypse will also do well to bear in mind that St. John the Apostle had a vivid, keen sense of the dramatic, early manifested by his wish to invoke Heaven's

[1] The above has largely been adapted from Bacuez's Introduction to the Apocalypse, in *La Sainte Bible Polyglotte* of Vigouroux, VIII, pp. 469–471 (Paris, 1909).

lightnings upon certain inhospitable Samaritans. He revels in contrast, and delights in the clash and conflict of opposed forces. Thus, his Apocalypse throughout is ever drawing contrasts: the Heavenly Court—the powers of good, while God tranquilly directs the course of mundane events from His throne, the glorification in the Lamb of Christ, the God-Man, executing the will of the Divinity for the restoration of creation to its primal order—are all contrasted with the Dragon and his imitation of Christ in the Beast, and his endeavor to frustrate the divine design. Mount Sion is opposed to the "great mountain" (Apoc. 8:8); Jerusalem to the "great city"; the followers of the Lamb to those who are deluded by the Beast; the Sea Beast and the False Prophet to the Two Witnesses; the Courtesan or the Great City to the Bride of the Lamb who is also the City of God.

397. **Future and Present Combined.**—Finally, it cannot be too much emphasized that the vast conspectus, the universal vision of St. John, conceives earth and time (since the Incarnation) as already intermingled with and compenetrated by Heaven and eternity. The régime of the supernatural on earth has already begun. The great dividing point, the supreme crisis, for the world and mankind, is not the Last Judgment, but the Incarnation. Hence, the time after the Incarnation is already anticipatively reckoned by St. John with eternity, and the Last Judgment is but the final one of the cyclic divine judgments which began (John 1:11–12) when God "came unto His own, and [many of] His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, He gave them power to become sons of God—to those that believe in His name [= His religion]."

Art. 1: THE AUTHOR OF THE APOCALYPSE

398. Historic Evidence.—None of the New Testament Books which were at one time *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (or disputed), is so well supplied with evidence for its authenticity and canonicity as the Apocalypse. The author himself simply gives his name as "John," and the place of composition as the Isle of Patmos

(Apoc. 1:1, 4, 9; 21:2; 22:8), where he is a "brother and partner in tribulation" of the Asia Minor Christians.

Thus, the Muratorian Canon notes that John the Apostle when writing in the Apocalypse to the "Seven Churches" is in reality addressing all Christian communities. But the earliest evidence is that of St. Justin (converted to Christianity about A.D. 135): "And furthermore amongst us also a man by the name of John, one of the Christ's Apostles, prophesied in the Apocalypse (= 'revelation') made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after that (to make clear in sum) the universal and everlasting resurrection together of all at once, would take place, and the judgment."[1] At about the same period, according to Eusebius,[2] Meliton, Bishop of Sardes, wrote his works: "two concerning Easter . . . and those concerning the devil and John's Apocalypse." In the *Letters to the Churches of Lyons and Vienne,* most probably composed by St. Ireneus himself about A.D. 177–178, one reads the following phrases: "He was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, 'following the Lamb whithersoever It went' (Apoc. 14:4)"; and again: "That the Scripture might be fulfilled: 'Let the lawless continue in his lawlessness, and the just continue to be justified' (Apoc. 22:11)."[3] St. Hippolytus, in the 3rd century, exclaims: "Tell me, blessed John, Apostle and disciple of the Lord, what you saw and heard concerning Babylon!"[4] To the above and other testimonies should be added those adduced in the following article on the date of the Apocalypse.

399. Internal Evidence.—St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria[5] (248–264) and disciple of Origen, whilst apparently admitting the inspired character of the Apocalypse, denied that its author was John the Apostle on account of the great

[1] Justin, *Dialog. adv. Tryph.*, LXXXI, 4. The reference is of course to Apoc. 20, somewhat misinterpreted. Justin's debate with the Jew Tryphon took place at Ephesus about A.D. 150.
[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, XXVI, ii.
[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, i, 10, 58.
[4] Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo*, p. 17, Lagarde ed.
[5] In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, xxx, 17–22.

divergence in style and language to be noted between this Book and the other Johannine writings:

> Both the thoughts and expressions, as well as their arrangement, rightly make one think that he is not the same one as the other [speaking of the two Johns]. The Gospel and the Epistle (= I John) indeed agree . . . He (= the author of Fourth Gospel and I John) makes use of the same chief ideas and the same terms in his exposition . . . He who scans carefully will find written in both one and the other: *life*, the *light* which puts the *darkness* to flight, constantly *truth, grace, joy,* the *flesh* and *blood* of the Saviour, *judgment, pardon* of sins, the *love* of God for us, the *precept of love* for each other, the obligation of *keeping all the commandments* (etc.) . . . In a word, for those who note closely the characteristics of the Gospel and the Epistle, it is easy to perceive clearly that both have one and the same author. The Apocalypse is entirely different from these two and alien to them. It joins neither of them. There is scarcely, so to say, a syllable in common between them.

The learned Bishop of Alexandria was too intent upon his argument to scan his text very closely. Otherwise he would have found that the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles have not a few thoughts and even expressions in common, such as *life, commandments, judgment.* "True" (ἀληθινός) is found ten times in the Apocalypse, nine times in the Fourth Gospel, four times in the Johannine Epistles—and only six times elsewhere in the entire New Testament. The associated terms, μαρτυρία and μαρτυρεῖν ("testimony," "to give testimony"), are words and ideas very common in all the Johannine works.

In comparing the style of the Apocalypse with that of the other Johannines, Dionysius exaggerates the perfection of the Greek of the latter in order to emphasize the contrast with the undeniable crudeness, the veritable "grammar of ungrammar" of the Apocalypse. Here one must take into account various factors making for the divergence. The Apocalypse was written not so long after St. John had quit Palestine, and when he had but briefly been in an entirely Greek-speaking environment. The Gospel was written a considerable number of years later, after he had had time to improve his Greek, and become more familiar with the idioms of that tongue.

Moreover, the Apocalypse was hurled down on papyrus hastily, perhaps furtively, in moments of leisure from the enforced labor of an exile-prisoner,[6] and at a time when the Seer's innermost soul had been affected by the sublimity of its visions. Small wonder, then, that the idiom of his childhood should unconsciously obtrude into the new language he had to use. On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel was written calmly, without pressure, after the Evangelist had lived a number of years at Ephesus, where also he could have the assistance of Greek secretaries. These factors should account for much of the difference in language between the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings.

But even more explanatory is the divergence of topic between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse. The one is essentially historical, a narrative of past events; the other is prophetical, visionary, dealing with the dim and remote future, expressing itself under symbols. Nevertheless, despite these basic factors making for divergency, psychological or "higher" analysis can discover indications of identity of authorship between the Apocalypse and the other Johannines. First comes the *tendency to dramatic presentation.* The whole history of Christ in the Fourth Gospel is a series of conflicts, beginning with "the Light that shone in the Darkness, and the Darkness did not comprehend it" (John 1:5). Presentation by opposition between groups is a characteristic of both Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. In both, St. John shows his tendency to antitheses: the scheme οὐ . . . ἀλλά ("not . . . but") is frequent.

Again, as the author of the Apocalypse favors *symbolism,* so the Evangelist of the Fourth Gospel delights in *allegory.* Only seven miracles of Christ are recounted in the Fourth

6 Victorinus Petavius in his commentary, and later Primasius, state that John was condemned *ad metalla,* to forced labor in the mines, although there is no indication elsewhere that there were mines or smelting works on Patmos. However, one may note that St. John in his metaphors uses terms like "flame of fire" (Apoc. 1:14, 2:18, 19:12), "brass as if molten in a furnace" (Apoc. 1:15), "as the smoke of a great furnace" (Apoc. 9:2), "sea of glass mixed with fire" (Apoc. 15:2)—which might indicate association with smelting work. But such figures may also be seen in Ezech. 1:7, 8:2; Dan. 10:2.

Gospel; but of these the healing of the Bethesda paralytic, the multiplication of the loaves, the cure of the blind man at Jerusalem, and the raising of Lazarus furnish the occasion for teaching based on their allegorical significance.

Incidentally, the above-mentioned seven-group in the Fourth Gospel may be augmented by others: seven times is "I am" used to express relation of Christ to mankind; seven times appears "in My Name"; seven times "one" to express union with God, etc. Is this an unconscious or conscious reflection of the seven-series so numerous in the Apocalypse? Then, too, there is similarly found the subsidiary thought-rhythm of threes, also prominent in the Apocalypse. Thus, Christ three times repeats certain characteristic terms like "the good shepherd" (John 10), "the vine" (John 15), "the door," "the light of the world," etc.

Another characteristic of Johannine thought is the *shifting* or side-slipping *of metaphors*. The symbolic or allegorical elements of his language do not have the same value everywhere, are not restricted to a single signification. They depend entirely upon the context to fix their sense in a given passage. Thus, in Apoc. 7:17, Christ is designated as "the Lamb," yet immediately is turned into a shepherd who "shall rule them and shall lead them to the fountains of the waters of Life." Similarly, in John 10:2, Christ is "the shepherd who entereth in by the door," and shortly after (John 10:7) He has Himself become "the door of the sheep."

400. Cause of Doubts.—The reason that made certain 3rd-century ecclesiastical writers attempt to displace John Zebedee as author of the Apocalypse were not critical but dogmatic. They expected thereby to annul the authority of the main support upon which the Montanists and similar Millenarian (Chiliastic) groups of heretics relied. Instead of giving the proper explanation of the passages in the Apocalypse that might seem to support such errors, they preferred to undermine its authority by pleading that it was not apostolic—not composed by John Zebedee, but rather by any one of several other Johns whose names were available from the New Testament or early tradition. Some went so far as to

ascribe it to Cerinthus himself, St. John's great heretic opponent. Such an extremist was the priest Caius, in his controversy with the Montanist leader Proclus at Rome, some time between A.D. 199 and 217. These extreme reactionaries from Montanism came themselves to form a near-heretical group, nicknamed "Alogi" by St. Epiphanius, because of their opposition first to the *Logos* (or Word) and in time to all the Johannine writings. St. Dionysius of Alexandria (bishop from 248 to 264) used similar tactics in combating the literal Millenarianism of the neighboring Bishop Nepos. Such causes for a time and in certain districts forced the Apocalypse to be omitted from the Canon.

Art. 2: THE DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE

401. Relative to Fourth Gospel.—That the Apocalypse of St. John was written before the Gospel of the same Apostle, is stated by St. Epiphanius: "The Holy Spirit impelled John to write the Gospel in his extreme old age, when namely he had gone beyond his ninetieth year, after his return from the Isle of Patmos, which same return took place under Claudius Cæsar. So then, when he had dwelt many years in Asia, he was impelled to write the Gospel."[1] This statement of Epiphanius (who has to be read with reservations) is confirmed, first, by John 21:22–23, which presupposes that, at the time of its writing, St. John had already arrived at such an extraordinary old age that his disciples began to believe he would not die till Christ's Coming; secondly, by the fact that the Greek of John's Gospel (and Epistles) is far better than that of the Apocalypse.

As to the closer dating of the composition of the Apocalypse, the diverging evidence leads towards two periods: one running as early as Claudius (A.D. 41–54) or Nero (A.D. 54–68); the other, better supported, pointing to the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81, died Sept., 96). The base for dating the Apocalypse is, of course, its writer's statement that he received

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, LI, xii; see also *ibid.*, LI, ii, xxxiii. On the Claudius dating see No. 402 below.

its visions whilst he "was on the isle named Patmos, for the sake of God's word and of the testimony of Jesus" (Apoc. 1:9). These words indicate that St. John was not on Patmos of his own will, but because he had been condemned thither for professing Christianity. And all antiquity testifies to this exile of the Son of Thunder to Patmos for the Faith, although the witnesses differ as to the Emperor in whose reign this took place.

402. For Domitian Date.—Telling how the official acts of Domitian were annulled by his successor Nerva on account of their extreme cruelty, Eusebius says that, "according to the tradition of the ancients amongst us, then too the Apostle John, after the flight (φυγή = "banishment" here) to the island, resumed his stay at Ephesus."[2] Elsewhere, the same author compares this "flight" to the martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul: "Peter is crucified at Rome head downwards, Paul beheaded, John exiled to the island."[3] In his *Chronicle,* moreover, Eusebius sets the exile of St. John to Patmos in the fourteenth year of Domitian (= 94 or 95).

St. Ireneus (died 202), speaking of the apocalyptic "number of the Beast" and name of Anti-Christ, says: "We, therefore, do not venture to explain with certainty the name of the Anti-Christ. For, had his name to be openly proclaimed at the present time, it would have been declared by him who visioned the Apocalypse. For it was visioned not so very long ago, almost in our own generation, towards the close of Domitian's reign."[4]

403. For Nero or Claudius Period.—St. Epiphanius, notoriously unreliable in chronology, says that St. John "published his prophecy when living on the Isle of Patmos during the reign of Claudius Cæsar."[5] Some, seeing the hopelessness of this anachronism, make a guess that by "Claudius" the writer meant Nero, whose full name was "Nero Claudius

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, xx, 9.
[3] Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangel.,* III, 5.
[4] Ireneus, *Adv. Hær.,* V, xxx, 3. It is Ireneus who claims that St. John lived "up into the reign of Trajan" (= A.D. 98–117), *ibid.,* II, xxii; III, iii.
[5] Epiphanius, *Hæres.,* LI, xxxiii.

Cæsar." St. Jerome's celebrated text: "Refert autem Tertullianus quod Romæ [most MSS. have *a Nerone*] missus in ferventis olei dolium purior et vegetior exiverit,"[6] may be connected with Tertullian's: "Ista (= Romana) quam felix ecclesia . . . ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Ioannis[7] exitu coronatur; ubi apostolus Ioannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur!"[8] Lastly, the author of the Muratorian Canon makes St. Paul model his Epistles upon the Seven Letters of the Apocalypse: ". . . cum ipse beatus Paulus sequens prædecessoris sui Ioannis ordinem nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat."

The following is offered in explanation of these early datings. For Claudius (A.D. 41–54): The brother of St. John the Apostle, James Zebedee or "the Greater," was put to death by King Agrippa II at Jerusalem in A.D. 44, during the government of Claudius (Acts 12:2). Now, from the incident of Matt. 20:20–23, Mark 10:35–40, some evidently got the impression that these two sons of Mary Salome had to suffer martyrdom together, as may be seen from the Hamartolos-Papias fragment.[9] Hence the mistaken idea that John Zebedee's Latin Gate trial and banishment took place during the reign of Claudius. As for the Nero dating (A.D. 54–68), that may have arisen from just such an oratorical associating of John's martyrdom with the deaths of Peter and Paul as is exemplified in the Tertullian and Eusebius citations above given.

It seems safe, then, to hold that the Apocalypse was written about A.D. 95, some time before the composition of the Fourth Gospel, which latter all witnesses agree to assign to St. John's extreme old age.

[6] Jerome, *Adv. Iovinian.*, I.
[7] The allusion is, of course, to the beheading of John the Baptist.
[8] Tertullian, *De Præscript. Hæretic.*, 36.
[9] See No. 93 above.

Art. 3: PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE APOCALYPSE

404. Encouraging Prophetic Encyclical.—In literary form and primary intent the Apocalypse is an encyclical to the chief churches of Asia Minor from their exiled metropolitan, to exhort and encourage them by symbolic presentation for their consideration of the plans of God in regard to His Church, by a concise but veiled sketch of the vicissitudes of the Kingdom of Heaven in contact with its adversaries of both the near-future and of all times to come. Primarily, the Apocalypse regards conditions active at about the Apostle's own time (say 69–93), the Neronian persecution just past, and those yet to come. Secondarily, it deals with the happenings of the future at large, and the generality of the divine "economy" (*οἰκονομία*) relative to the world and especially to the Church. The early Christian communities are told that what has happened in their own time is not to be considered as something so extraordinary that the final Judgment-Coming may be considered impending; rather are they to see in it but a type of what shall again and again come about so long as the Church is in the world, though not of it. The struggle between Good and Evil was not over with the Incarnation, although then it entered into its final phase. The struggle with the Powers of Darkness which was begun by Christ personally whilst on earth, ending with the paradox of His victory in defeat, must be continued till the end of time by Christ's Mystical Body, the Church, and each of its members. Therefore is the Seer commanded to write down both "the things that are" and "those that are to come" (Apoc. 1:19). This grouping already indicates the two main sections of the Book. Its plan is sketched in the accompanying schematic outline.

405. Schematic Outline of the Apocalypse

General Prologue (1:1-9)

Introductory Vision (1:9-20)

FIRST PART (dealing primarily with ecclesiastical conditions during St. John's own cycle): Revelation to the Anatolian Churches on their Spiritual State.

The Seven Letters (2:1—3:22)

SECOND PART (dealing with the future of the World at large, from the Inthronization of Christ at the Ascension until the Last Judgment): The Book of the Divine Destinies (4—11:18).

Introductory Vision: the Inthronization of Christ.

The Seven Seals = the symbolic preparations in Heaven for the carrying out on the earth of the providential decrees of the Book of Destinies (6:1-17; 8:1).

Intercalation (after 6th item) of the Marking of the 144,000; Procession of Christ's followers (7:1-17).

The Seven Trumpets = the actual execution on earth of the decrees of the Book of Destinies (8:2—11:18).

Intercalation (after 6th item) of presentation of the Biblaridion; the Two Witnesses struggle with the Beast, by anticipation (10—11:14).

THIRD PART (dealing with the future likewise, but more especially relative to the struggle between Church and Antichurch): The content of the Biblaridion (11:19—21:8).

Prologue: Historic Roots of the Contest—the Woman and the Dragon.

Presentation of the Two Opposing Forces: the Beast as Antithesis to the Lamb (12:18—14:5).

Preparations for the Struggle: encouraging predictions and anticipations of the eventual happy issue.

The Seven Vials = Execution of the divine decrees against the Beast and his Antichurch (15—16:21). Differing in this from the Seals and the Trumpets, the Vials seem to apply primarily to near-future conditions of St. John's own cycle, the persecutions and Rome's ruin.

Intercalation (after 6th item) of Gathering of Kings at Armageddon; Christ announces the succor of His Coming.

Anticipated Ruin of the Antichurch (more particularly for St. John's own cycle, of imperial Rome) described as the Prostitute and Babylon (17—19:10).

Predicted Defeat of the Antichristian force-principles (19:11–21).

Repetition: Summary of age-long struggle between Christ and Antichrist (20:1–10).

Eventual Finish = the Last Judgment (20:11—21:4).

Vision of the Church as the New Jerusalem, triumphing inchoatively in time, perfectly in eternity—of which its time-phase is but a beginning (21:9—22:5).

Conclusions and Epilogues

406. Letters to the Seven Churches.—After an epistolary opening and a general introduction (1:1–20) follows the first part (from 2:1—3:22), or the "Letters to the Seven Churches." These deal with the concrete conditions and problems of the chief Anatolian Christian communities of St. John's time. Of course, for the later reader an application of these same letters to parallel circumstances in another place and season, is not to be excluded. But primarily they deal with ἃ εἰσίν—that is to say, with actual places and conditions in Asia Minor at about the period between 69 and 93.

407. Greater Part Relative to Future.—The major part of the rest of the Apocalypse, however, is taken up with ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα (Apoc. 1:19)—that is to say, with what will happen after St. John's time in the whole world, and more particularly in and to the Church. Thus, the greater part of the Book may itself be subdivided into two sections.

The first of these (4:1—10:7) might be called the "Book of the Divine Destinies" from its great introductory feature. Its framework is formed by the symbolism of the Seven Seals and the Seven Trumpets. It comprises the sum-total of the divine decrees *for the world at large* relative to its Messianic conquest. The appearance of the Church in this section is rather incidental and indeterminate. The opposed Powers of Darkness and Disorder are likewise scarcely as yet personalized, even in the executive portion or the Seven Trumpets.

The second subsection (11:1—22:5) likewise deals with "the things which are to come to pass," which the Seer is commanded to "prophesy again to many nations and peoples and tongues and kings" (Apoc. 10:11). It might be called the "Little Open Book" (*βιβλαρίδιον*), which the Seer is told to consume—that is to say, he is to learn, meditate on, and promulgate its contents. This *βιβλαριδιον* is evidently to be considered as an extract or particular compendium drawn from the great "Book of the Seven Seals," which comprised the total of the divine decrees.

408. The "Little Open Book."—An examination of this subsection shows that the "Little Book" [1] is concerned chiefly with the *future lot of the Church* in its relationship to the world. Its framework is formed by the symbolism of the Seven Vials, which have primarily a near-future local-temporal application. Whilst naturally the "Little Book" largely parallels the great "Book of the Divine Destinies," still it is more restricted in the field covered, and more concrete and detailed in its presentation, personalizing both the Church and its adversaries. Thus, it also has more lengthy introductions and more intercalations—*emboîtments*, or "boxed-in" subsidiary visions developing anticipatively or subsequently some detail of the main scheme of the Seven Vials (17:1—20:15). All this makes it more difficult to follow the order, as these lengthy subsidiary developments, not being easily recognized as such, tend to obscure the larger concatenation of the Seven Vials.

409. Symmetrical Arrangement.—As in the opening section the plan of composition turns upon the "Seven Letters," so in the subsequent sections the "Book of the Divine Destinies" is framed upon the Seven Seals (embodying the celestial foreplays or heavenly preparations of the providential decrees) and the Seven Trumpets (which picture the actual earthly execution of those decrees). It is noteworthy that, in all these great "seven-groups," there is brought in after

[1] The "Little Book" is designated as "open," because the seals of the great "Book of Destinies" (of which it is an extract) have already been opened by the Lamb.

the sixth item a kind of rhetorical rhythmic pause, before the closing cataclysm. The special section of the "Little Book" is likewise composed about the Seven Vials—the Measuring of the Temple and the Vision of the Woman being introductory, while the Two Beasts, the Two Witnesses, the Great Harlot, etc., are subsidiary developments.

Art. 4: INTERPRETING THE APOCALYPSE

410. Order in Confusion.—Merely a kaleidoscopic phantasmagoria of imagery do the pages of the Apocalypse present to the eyes of the casual reader. But closer investigation shows that what appears to be inextricable confusion is in fact very harmonious order dominated by an elaborate rhythm of thought. Of course, that order is not along the lines of the simple chronological sequence to which the Western mind is habituated.[1] Rather, the plan of the Apocalypse, as that of the Hexaëmeron, is not so much chronological as logico-symmetrical, with a literary or poetical balancing and contrasting of its factors and actions. Thus, elements like the Seven Seals, the Seven Trumpets, the Seven Vials of Vengeance, the Four Horsemen, etc., are *not* to be conceived as symbolizing *so many successive* cycles of world history, but rather as simultaneously concurrent phases or aspects of the development of the Messianic "economy" in the world for all the time from the Ascension to the Second Advent.

411. No Chronological Cycles.—There is a very cogent reason for excluding *a priori* exegetical theories which assume that in the apocalyptic visions there is to be found indication of the chronologic sequence of historical vicissitudes. It is

[1] The marshalling of scenes and the array of numbers in the Apocalypse have tempted many a mind to mathematical theories of historical application—with disappointing consequences. It is notable that Revelations, the most mysterious Book of the New Testament and perhaps the most difficult of the entire Bible, has always had a fascinating attraction for the more fanatic sectarians. Witness the peace-loving "International Bible Students' Association" and similar groups, which have several times deduced the exact date of the Second Advent, besides dividing all time and part of eternity into a complicated system of periods and fitting the symbolism of Antichrist to the Church.

this. Christ during His lifetime more than once specifically insisted that the time of His Second Coming was, and would remain, unknown to men: "But of that day and hour no man knoweth—no, not the angels of Heaven, but the Father alone" (Matt. 24:36; see also Mark 13:32, 44; Luke 12:40, 46; Apoc. 3:5, etc.). Even after the Resurrection, He emphasized this to the curious disciples: "It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father hath put in His own power" (Acts 1:7). St. Paul likewise enunciates the same principle: "But about the times and moments, brethren, there is no call for our writing to you. For you yourselves know perfectly that the Day of the Lord shall so come as a thief in the night" (I Thess. 5:1–2; see also II Pet. 3:10). This simile of the thief is used repeatedly, and even in the Apocalypse itself (Apoc. 3:3; 16:15), to denote the unexpectedness of the Second personal Advent of Christ, although at times it may also designate Christ's judgment-coming to each man at the hour of death.

Now, if the apocalyptic visions were interpretable as manifesting the chronological sequence of the cycles of world history, men would be able at least approximately to determine the time of the General Judgment. But the texts just cited negative any such possibility. Therefore, it would seem that the apocalyptic visions are not to be interpreted as revealing or indicating a chronologic sequence of world-cycles. There remains then only that they be understood and read as phases or aspects of the age-long struggle between the "Holy City" (Apoc. 21:2), the *Civitas Dei,* and "the great city" (Apoc. 17:18), or opposed organization directed by the Powers of Darkness, with Antichrist at its head.

412. "Last Times."—Another reason for precluding cyclic or periodic theories of Apocalypse exegesis is that the Seer himself distinguishes no cycles or periods in the time-distance of the Messianic Reign between the Ascension and the General Judgment. That time-distance is conceived of as a whole, forming the final stage of world history: indeed it is considered at times as already a beginning of eternity. Thus, the same St. John who wrote the Apocalypse wrote also in his

Epistle: "Little children, it is the last hour (= the last stage of the divine world-economy), and, as you have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are many who have become Antichrists" (I John 2:18). "Every spirit (= religious or philosophic system) that dissolveth Jesus (= denies the Incarnation) is not of God. And this is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh—and even now he is already in the world" (I John 4:3). For St. John as well as for St. Peter (Acts 2:17) and St. Paul, all following the Master, Christ, the world has already entered into its ἐσχάται ἡμέραι.[2] The eschatologic season has already arrived. All men living after the Incarnation are already those "upon whom the ends of the world are come" (I Cor. 10:11). With the Incarnation begin the ὠδῖνες (Matt. 24:8), the "birthing-pangs" of eternity, where all shall live forever as perfect men "unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13). Under another figure, the time from the birth of Christ—the "Orient from on high" (Luke 2:78) who visited men "to enlighten them that sit in darkness"—is a dawning: "the night is now receding; the day is approaching" (Rom. 13:11–12). It is a period of conflict between Light and Darkness, which will continue with ever-increasing vantage for the former until the personal appearance of the "Sun of Justice" in all His splendor at the *parousia* will definitely mark the Day of Eternity at hand. In the viewpoint of Christ and the inspired hagiographers, the eschatological times are not a remote eventuality, but have already begun.

413. Foreshortened Perspective.—As is customary in prophetic writings, the distant perspective in the Apocalypse is brought so close that the time-distance between the Seer's present and the eventual future ending is greatly fore-

[2] ". . . Christ . . . foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but manifested *in the last times* for you" (I Pet. 1:20). "My dearly beloved, be mindful of the words . . . of the Apostles . . . who told you that in the *last time* there should come mockers . . ." (Jude 1:18). In I Tim. 4:1, II Tim. 3:1, II Pet. 3:3, the writers speak of the "last times" as something already present to their readers' experience.

shortened. The end of this world with the General Judgment signalizing the finish of the age-long warfare between the Lamb and the Dragon, with the definite triumph of the former and the defeat and punishment of the latter, is ever prominent before St. John's eyes: *ultimum in executione est primum in intentione.* Everything else is arranged towards that culmination. Hence, the Apocalypse may be termed predominantly eschatological, even though it does not pretend to determine the time of the world's close. From the calm standpoint of eternity are the vicissitudes of history measured and appraised. Because eventual triumph is assured beforehand, the Apostle and his persecuted contemporaries, as well as their successors in all ages, can look with tranquillity upon the fluctuating turns in the tide of the world-battle between Good and Evil. The hope and consolation arising from this certainty, as well as the guidance of the maneuvers of the army of the *Civitas Dei* through foreknowledge of the Enemy's plans and plots, is the message of the Apocalypse to "the rest of Her Seed" (Apoc. 12:17), the Christians of all ages.

414. Reduplicative Style.—As may be noted also in the Fourth Gospel, St. John does not pour forth his full thought on a subject in one heat, as St. Paul does. Rather he sketches the general outline preliminarily. Finished with that, he returns upon his tracks to develop this detail and that more at length, or he repeats to present some item under quite a different aspect. Thus, the "Four Winds" held in leash (7:1–2) are but another presentation of Three (with Hades, Four) Maleficent Horsemen. The White Horseman of 6:2 is in all probability to be identified with the other White Horseman called "Word of God" (19:11 *ss.*)—both being the Lamb or Christ, the first being probably a collective representation for the whole of Christian preaching, the second having rather a personal value.

415. Apocalyptic Numbers.—As has already been insinuated, the composition of the Apocalypse is governed by a great symmetrical rhythm of sevens, in which there is often to be found a subordinate thought-beat of threes. Now seven

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(with its multiples) is the great Messianic number sacred in Jewish mysticism to the Incarnation[3] and everything pertaining thereto: by contradiction it even marks the opposing elements, although the activity of these is generally indicated by six (=7−1) to represent their falling short of perfection and success.

Here is the place again to emphasize the fact that the abundant apocalyptic numbers are just that. They do not have—except perhaps very secondarily—a mathematical or chronological value. They are symbols of the language of an allegorical literature which was quite familiar to St. John's Jewish contemporaries, but whose tradition has largely been lost since. The *Gematria* of the cabbalists is its extreme development. Thus, for example, the "3260 days" of the Woman's sojourn in the desert is a period identical in duration with the "time, and times, and half a time" of Apoc. 12:14. It is likewise identical with the "two and forty months" that the Holy City shall be trodden under foot by the Gentiles (Apoc. 11:22); with the "1260 days" that the Two Witnesses shall prophesy (Apoc. 11:3); with the "two and forty months" that the Beast has power (Apoc. 13:5); finally, in all probability, with the "thousand years" that Satan is bound and the saints reign with Christ (Apoc. 20:2, 4, 7). And all these are but allegorically varied designations for the time elapsing between the Ascension and the Second Coming, considered under different aspects.[4]

[3] A typical example of this is the Matthean genealogy with its repeated insistence (Matt. 1:17) on the triple series of fourteen (14 = numerical value of *DaViD*), intended to prove to Jewish readers that Jesus was indeed the Christ.

[4] It is noteworthy that "three and one half" (Apoc. 11:9, 11, and, reductively, the "two and forty months" elsewhere) is the exact half of "seven," and that it is coincident with the personal phase or part of Christ's Messianic work—His public ministry—as is deducible from St. John's Gospel only, lasting about three and one-half years.

416. Conspectus of Three Great Seven Series.—

SEALS=*Foreplays in Heaven of Divine Decrees of Messianic World Conquest.*	TRUMPETS = *Execution of Divine Decrees as seen on earth over all time.*	VIALS = *Exemplification of Consequences in decadent Roman Empire as type.*
1. White Horseman (beneficent) conquering with bow of evangelization.	1. Hail of fire and blood: third of earth and trees and all grass burnt up.	1. On earth: ulcer upon men bearing Beast's character, who adore his image.
2. Red Horseman *signifying* war, revolution, social and moral evils.	2. Fiery mountain cast into sea: third of sea becomes blood, fish and ships destroyed.	2. On sea: becomes as blood of corpse; "every living soul died in the sea."
3. Black Horseman, *signifying* famine, flood, fire, all calamities originating in nature.	3. Star "Wormwood" falls on sweet waters: third of rivers and springs embittered.	3. On sweet waters: rivers and springs become blood. Retribution for persecution.
4. Greenish Horseman, *signifying* sickness. Fourth maleficent Horseman *signifies* Hades, netherworld.	4. Sun, moon, stars, day, night are darkened a third—concluding cosmic calamities.	4. On sun: affiicts men with heat; they blaspheme nor do penance.
5. Souls beneath Altar pleading, *signifying* intercession of the Saints for their fellows.	5. Bottomless pit opened; locust demons torment those not signed. *First Vae.*	5. On City of Beast: his kingdom wanes; men gnaw their tongues; still blaspheme.
6. Sun darkened, moon as blood, stars falling, *signifying* signs preceding Last Judgment.	6. Euphrates cavalry loosed to kill the third part of men. *Second Vae.*	6. On River Euphrates: it dries up for kings' coming to Armagedon.
Pause: Intercalation of Signing of the 144,000: vista of lot of just.	*Pause:* Intercalation of Little Book vision; Two Witnesses.	*Pause:* Intercalation: Three Unclean Spirits like frogs. "Behold I come."
7. "Silence in Heaven," *signifying* the Judgment, or the beginning of Eternity.	7. "Time of the dead that they should be judged . . . Kingdom of the world is become our Lord's."	7. On air: voice from Temple, "It is Done!" "Babylon" falls. Great hail. Men still blaspheme.

In each of the three series of seven—Seals, Trumpets, Vials—there is a marked interruption or pause after the sixth item and before the seventh. And the seventh phase

in the first two series, which embrace all time, is plainly the Final Judgment, with its beginning of the permanent victory and reward of the just, and of the equally permanent defeat and punishment of the wicked. The same is verifiable in the Vials series, although this primarily does not apply to the universality of time, but is only a cross-section, a sample, a type illustrating from one historic cycle the perennially repeated crucifixion and resurrection of the Church, the again and again reënacted apparent vanquishment of the Lamb's forces, with the similarly succeeding judgment of destruction visited upon His adversaries, to be noted throughout all the cycles of history ($=6\times7$ or "two and forty months"). Thus, in the last reënactment of the Vials, the seventh will coincide with the definitive Judgment of the Second Advent, and consequently also with the seventh item of the Seals and Trumpets series.

417. Apocalypse and Hexaëmeron.—Thus, each of the three series may be considered as arranged on a plan of $6+1$. Under this aspect, there is here suggested a comparison with the Genesis Heptameron (= Hexaëmeron plus Sabbath) account of the creation of the world. There also the whole gradual process of the perfectioning of the world is accomplished in six day-works or phases, the seventh "day" being the final and age-long stage of the world's operation in the fullness of its equipment. As the first six phases[5] of the world's material preparation stand to the period of its normal continuous operation thereafter in historic time, so do six transitory phases of the world's moral re-creation, from the Incarnation onwards, precede the stable reëstablishment of divine order in eternity. Or perhaps one should consider post-Incarnation time, not so much as a period of *reconstruction* of order and good, as a period of *destruction* of evil and disorder. For the series of the Trumpets and Vials comprise, after all, only maledictions and scourges, cosmic, physical, and moral. In this view, the work of de-

[5] In the "universal-simultaneous" theory of Hexaëmeron interpretation (see *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* for May—August, 1924, and *Scripture Manual*, vol. I, pp. 213–218), the day-works are phases or stages of world development not necessarily successive in their totality.

stroying the evil in the world would be pictured in six stages in contrast to the six stages of its primal perfectioning. But to bring about an exact alignment of each Seal and Trumpet and Vial with a corresponding day-work of creation, does not seem feasible.

418. Interrelationship of the Series.—The first two series, those of the Seals and the Trumpets, correspond to each other as foreplay or prologue to execution and action. At the opening of each Seal, the Seer beholds in Heaven the preparation or manifestation of some factor destined to operate in the conquest of the earth by the Lamb for God.[6] At the sounding of each Trumpet, the Seer is shown symbolically the actualization of the divine decrees on earth. Yet, each of the Seven Trumpets is not placed in alignment with a corresponding Seal. Indeed, whilst the Trumpets are all maleficent or scourges, the First or White Horseman (at least in the acceptation favored by Père Allo) [7] is beneficent, being naught else but the Word of God riding forth to peaceful conquest through the evangelization of the world. But, as there are in fact *five* Horsemen mentioned (the fourth Seal having two), perhaps the first four Trumpets parallel the four maleficent Horsemen. The fifth Trumpet may correspond to the fifth Seal by contrast. All three series coincide on the seventh item: the Judgment.

Art. 5: VISION OF THE INTHRONIZATION OF CHRIST

419. Vision of the Throne of God.—At the very opening of the Apocalypse, God was acclaimed (Apoc. 1:8) as "He Who Is, and Who Was, and Who Is to Come," as the "Alpha and Omega," "the Almighty" who is the beginning and the end, the cause and the purpose, the plan and the realization,

[6] Let it again be said that the successive appearance of these factors in the composition by no means implies their *successive* operation on earth.

[7] Perhaps the most thoroughgoing extended modern Catholic commentary, both critical and exegetic, is *Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse* by E. B. Allo, O.P. (Paris, 1921).

of all things existing or yet to be and happen. In these broad outlines, He is now represented symbolically in the opening section of the second part, which may be designated as

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE CREATOR

Lo! a Throne was set in Heaven, and upon the Throne was One Sitting. And, in my vision, He Who Sat was like to jasper or sardonyx jewels, and, in my vision, a rainbow like to emerald encircled His Throne. And all about the Throne were four-and-twenty [lesser] thrones, and upon these thrones were four-and-twenty Ministers seated, robed in white garments and with crowns of gold upon their heads.

And from the Throne went forth lightnings and voices and thunders. And at the front of the Throne burned Seven Lamps of Fire, which are the Sevenfold Spirit of God. And all about the Throne (stretched out) what appeared as a sea like unto crystal glass.

And forming the Throne were four Cherubim dight with eyes on all sides. And the first Cherub was like to a lion, and the second Cherub was like to a young bull, and the third Cherub had a face like a man's, and the fourth Cherub was like to a flying eagle. And the four Cherubim, each having six wings, were dight all about and through with eyes. And they rested not, either day or night, crying: "Holy! holy! holy! is the Lord, God Almighty, Who Was and Who Is and Who Shall Come!"

And, as often as the Cherubim render praise and honor and thanksgiving to Him Who Sitteth on the Throne, Who Liveth throughout ages of ages, so often do the four-and-twenty Ministers fall upon their faces before Him Who Sitteth on the Throne, and so often do they adore Him Who Liveth throughout ages of ages, casting down their crowns before the Throne and crying: "It is meet, O Lord our God, that Thou shouldst reserve to Thyself the glory and the honor and the power. For Thou art He who has created all things, and through Thy will have they come into being and yet are!"

With the dramatic movement and sound of this overwhelming liturgy closes the first scene, which had opened with a tableau of the heavenly court. There God is represented as the ruler of the universe, the creator and sustainer and director of all things, visible and invisible, material and spiritual. How subtilely effective is the Seer's avoidance of the direct naming or description of the chief and central Personage about whom all things else revolve! Yet He is

recognized to be the same One whom, in earlier theophanies, Isaias saw as "the Lord sitting upon a Throne high and exalted, whose train filled the Temple" (Is. 6:1), at whose sides stood the six-winged Seraphim crying ever: "Holy! holy! holy!" He is the same One whom Daniel (7:9–10) beheld sitting as "the Ancient of Days, whose garment was like snow and the hair of His head like to clean wool; . . . a swift stream of fire issued forth before Him; thousands of thousands ministered to Him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood" awaiting His commands. He is the same One who appeared to Ezechiel as a Man glowing with coruscations all about (Ezec. 1:26–28).

420. Symbolism of the Vision.—The starry heavens, peopled with angelic intelligences, are conceived as the great Temple of God wherein His Throne is set in tranquil majesty, whilst below and beyond roll on the mighty vicissitudes of time and history, all directed from above through the Divinity's ministers. Ineffable beauty and calm are indicated by the jewel-color comparison, and the encircling rainbow symbolizes the mercy which with God "is above all His works." The "lightnings and voices and thunders" may designate the *operationes Dei ad extra,* whilst the "Seven Lamps" represent the Holy Spirit Himself in His manifold and mysterious activity. The motionless sea of glass, crystal clear, indicates that the standpoint of the account is that of unchanging eternity, whence all things are viewed unclouedly in their true relationship and value.

The four Cherubim forming the Throne personify the perpetual praise and prayer of all creation, the unceasing accidental glory which every thing outside the Divinity, from the highest angelic intellect to the lowest and least atom of matter, continually proffers to God by its being, properties, and natural activity. The chief categories are chosen for the symbol: power and force are represented by the lion; swift light and motion by the eagle; brute matter in its mass by the bull; the mind of men and of angels by the "likeness of a human face." Whether the Cherubim here are to be conceived primarily as personal (angelic) beings, or

purely as symbols (like the Throne and the Altar of Incense), is uncertain. In any case, they occupy a prominent position in all the Scriptural theophanies, and God is often described as "He who rideth upon the Cherubim" (Ps. 98:1). Their number is always given as "four"—which has been brought into connection with the four cardinal points (East, West, North, and South), as standing for the universe, or with the traditional "four elements." The plenitude of eyes may designate the universal order and law with which all created things coöperate in carrying out the divine designs.

The twenty-four Ministers or Ancients are a purely Johanneic feature, although they may be preluded in the Assessors of the divine assembly of Is. 24:23 (note also the "thrones set" in Dan. 7:9), and in the twenty-four sacerdotal groups of the Levitical priesthood. They appear intimately associated with the cycles and events of human history (Apoc. 7:13; 11:16; 14:3; 19:4). They may be identifiable with the "thrones" of the angelic hierarchy, and seem to be somehow conjoined especially with the Church. Their golden crowns denote royalty; their white vestments, the priestly function. They act as intermediaries and offer up the prayers of the sanctified.

But these are not all the objects and persons visioned by the Seer. For other actors in the magnificent scene revealed are named later as the various detailed visions of the apocalyptic panorama are unrolled before St. John's spiritual gaze. There is, besides the multitude of angels (Apoc. 5:11), an Altar of Incense and an Altar of Holocausts, and a Sanctuary, and an Ark—so that the heavenly Temple might well have served as "the model" which Moses "was shown upon the mount" (Exod. 25:40).

In peaceful majesty is the tremendous liturgy of heaven pictured as ever moving on, its stately sequence of wonder, praise, and thanksgiving rising up as incense and poured out as perfume, to the chant of "new canticles" like "the noise of many waters" and the music of "many harpers harping on their harps" (Apoc. 14:1–2). As enacted against this background are to be conceived the subsequent scenes, both

of the preparation and foreshadowing of the divine decrees in heaven (the "Seals") and of their execution in the vicissitudes of world-cycles on earth (the "Trumpets" and the "Vials").

421. Entrance of Christ.—But, in the picture already drawn, there is one Personage lacking from the stage of the celestial drama, and mankind is but very indirectly represented. The Second Person of the Blessed Trinity is absent (one might say), because God the Father had but shortly before "sent His Son into the world, not [as yet] to judge the world, but that the world might be saved by Him," and that whosoever believeth in Him might have Life Everlasting (John 3:16–17), and thus become fit to take his place and part in the eternal heavenly liturgy. The Son of God has gone forth to war against the rebellious Powers of Darkness, "and His name is called 'Word of God'" (Apoc. 19:13). And now He is about to return with the marks of battle upon Him, "because He has conquered" (Apoc. 5:5).

For upon earth meantime is taking place what the Seer has elsewhere (Apoc. 12) described so summarily: "And the Woman was with child. And the Dragon stood before the Woman that he might devour her Child. . . . And she gave birth to a Son, a Man-Child, who was to rule all nations with an iron rod . . . and her Child was rapt up to God and to His Throne." Thus, whilst the preliminaries of the following scene are enacted, one may well imagine the Ascension taking place, Christ "ascending up on high," leading those ransomed from the "captivity" of the devil (the dragon) as the joyful "captives" in His own triumphal train (Eph. 4:8).

THE CORONATION PREPARATIONS IN HEAVEN

And I [continues the Seer] saw at the right hand of Him who Sitteth on the Throne a Book-roll written upon front and back, sealed with seven seals. And I beheld a strong angel announcing with a mighty voice: "Who is there fit to loose the seven seals of the Book-roll and to open it?" And no person in heaven or on earth was able to open the Book-roll or even to gaze upon it. And I wept much that no person could be found to open the Book-roll or even to gaze upon it. Thereupon one of the Ministers said to

me: "Weep not! Behold, the Lion of the Tribe of Juda, the Stock of David, has conquered, so that He may open the Book-roll with its seven seals."

422. The Great Book of Destinies.—The Book-roll, closed with seven seals at its outer edge, is clearly the *ensemble* of the divine decrees and dispositions in regard to the world. That it is represented as "written on both sides" may be to indicate that these decrees refer both to the past, already realized in history, and to the future, which yet remains to be accomplished. The Book-roll is represented as closed and sealed, because the deepest actualization as well as understanding of God's plans has yet to take place.

By whom and through whom shall this be brought about? Who shall accomplish most utterly and universally the will of God? No mere man or angel is fit to be entrusted with the whole actualization of the divine will with regard to the world, but only He of whom the Psalmist wrote long before: "At the head of the Book it is written of Me that I should do Thy will, O God; behold, I come" (Ps. 39:8); the same who afterwards said of Himself, describing His work: "I came down from heaven . . . to do . . . the will of Him that sent Me. . . . Now, this is the will of the Father who sent Me: that of all that He hath given Me I should lose nothing . . . that every one who seeth the Son and believeth in Him, may have Life Everlasting" (John 6:38–40).

Thereupon this Person is described by the intermediating Minister as a man, of the tribe of Juda, indeed the prophetically predicted late-greening outshoot of David's root. He has won for Himself this honor by the battles already won in Bethlehem, Galilee, and upon the mount of Calvary. He is even now returning victorious with the first-fruits of mankind's souls as spoils of His conquest. Hence He, though bearing the flesh of humankind and marked with the scars of His earthly battle, shall be enthroned by His Father. As St. Stephen described it in the Acts: "I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:55), which same scene in the symbolism of the seer of Patmos is described as follows:

THE INTHRONIZATION OF CHRIST

And I saw at the Throne, amidst the four Cherubim and the four-and-twenty Ministers, a Lamb as if slain, standing, having seven horns and seven eyes, which represent the sevenfold Spirit of God. And He went and received the Book-roll from the right hand of Him who Sitteth on the Throne.

And when He had received the Book-roll, the four Cherubim and the four-and-twenty Ministers fell upon their faces before the Lamb, having harps and golden vials filled with perfumes—which are the prayers of the sanctified. And they intoned a new canticle, saying: "Thou art worthy to receive the Book-roll and to open its seals, because Thou hast been slain and by Thy blood hast ransomed for God men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and for God hast made of them a Priesthood and a Kingdom[1] which shall reign over the earth!"

And, looking, I heard the noise of many angels surrounding the Throne and the Cherubim and the Ministers, and their number was thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads all crying in mighty voice: "Worthy indeed is the Lamb that was slain to receive the power and the wealth and the wisdom and the strength and the honor and the glory and the benediction!" And every creature, whether in heaven or on earth or of the netherworld or in the sea, and all things therein, I heard crying: "To Him that Sitteth on the Throne and to the Lamb be benediction and honor and glory and dominion unto ages of ages!" And the four Cherubim cried: "Amen!" And the Ministers prostrated and adored.

423. Old Testament Foreshadowings.—What a scene has St. John limned in his halting Greek! The Son of God returning victorious from the opening of His campaign to redeem the earth from the captivity of Satan! The human nature through which He has conquered is now raised to the very Throne of the Godhead. Now is accomplished indeed the prophecy of the Psalmist of old: "The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit Thou at My right hand whilst I make Thine enemies Thy footstool'" (Ps. 109:1). Christ as God-Man approaches the Throne of light inaccessible, and receives from the Father the direction, the dominion, the kingship of all human affairs. All creation, indeed, is subordinated to Him: "With glory and honor hast Thou crowned Him, and

[1] "Kingdom and Priesthood" have been inverted in the translation because of probable *hysteron-proteron:* the same remark applies to "myriads and thousands" in the succeeding paragraph.

hast set Him [King] over the works of Thy hands!'' Here belong those ancient inthronization canticles from the Book of Psalms, *Dominus regnavit:*

> The Lord hath been enthroned and clothed in majesty:
> He is robed in power and hath girt Himself!
> . . . . .
> Though rivers raise their voices, Lord,
> though rivers raise their voices,
> Yet mightier than their roar of many waters
> there rises up the surging of the sea—
> And mightier still is He,
> the Lord on high! (Ps. 92:1, 3–4).
>
> The Lord hath mounted His throne—
> let the nations tremble!
> He rideth on the Cherubim—
> let the world's globe shake! (Ps. 98:1).

Nevertheless, it is not as a terrifying conqueror, arrayed in the blinding panoply of an archangel, nor like Goliath, that the Son of Man appears for His triumph—but ''as a slain Lamb,'' like the youthful David, in the frailty of human nature, bearing in His body the ruddy scars of the battle of His crucifixion. The Meek hath possessed the Land! Hence also did the Psalmist chant:

> The Lord hath mounted His throne,—
> now let the earth rejoice!
> The many isles that are,
> yea, let them all be glad! (Ps. 96:1).

424. Divinity of the Lamb.—As the Holy Ghost's presence and His conjunction with the Father had previously been indicated by the ''Seven Lamps of fire burning before the Throne'' (Apoc. 4:5), so now in connection with the Son, this same Holy Ghost—whose sevenfold Spirit, as Isaias foretold (Is. 11:1–3), was to rest upon the ''sprout from the stock of Jesse''—is connoted by the ''Seven Eyes and Seven Horns'' which, whilst remaining permanently with Christ, are ''sent'' by the Son as well as by the Father ''into every land'' through the apostolic ministry and the grace of the sacraments. The divinity of the Lamb, Christ, is shown by this as well as by the subsequent action of the personnel of

the heavenly court in presenting to the Lamb the same latreutic worship which had previously been offered to Him Who Sitteth on the Throne. Nevertheless, the subordination of the human nature to the divine is subtilely indicated by the fact that the Lamb, although placed immediately at the Throne, inside even the intimate circle of the Cherubim and the Ministers, has to "go" to Him Who Sitteth on the Throne in order to receive the Book-roll. Later on the Seer speaks of "the Throne of God and of the Lamb" (Apoc. 22:1, 3).

By receiving the Book of the Divine Destinies from the Father, Christ is crowned King of the universe. And the "new canticle" intoned by the Ministers recounts how He has won the title to His Kingship—namely, through the passion and death whereby He redeemed all men from the galling overlordship of the devil, to form them into a mighty organization—the Kingdom of God or the Church, having both priestly power and royal dignity to "rule upon the earth" and complete its conquest for God which Christ had begun.

In the subsequent acclamation of all creation to its newly crowned King there are seven items, as always in the doxologies to the Incarnate Word by the whole universe. Thus, there seems to be united to the triple doxology of grace the four-fold one of Nature (of sky, land, sea, netherworld). And to the praises of earth the highest creatures of Heaven add their confirming "Amen!" to symbolize the reunion of earth and heaven through the Incarnation.

Christ has now been inthroned as the King of creation. The execution of the divine decrees has been entrusted to Him; the destinies of men and earth have been placed in His hands. The conquest which He began by personal combat, as David against Goliath, He will now continue to carry on through the instrumentality of "His brethren," "the rest of her Seed" (Apoc. 12:17) that still suffer the "enmity" of the great Dragon-Serpent—the Dark Powers of the netherworld who opposed the first and the second Eve. On the other hand, the cohorts of Heaven, the "more than twelve legions of angels" (Matt. 26:53), are now through their commander, Christ, become the allies of mankind.

425. Connection with Subsequent Visions.—As in the drama of Job, the reader is first given a glimpse behind the scene in Heaven of the motivation of Providence's mysterious dealings, and then is shown the effects and consequences in the Sufferer of Hus; and, as Moses saw first on the mount the ideal model of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances and then witnessed its realization in actuality, so now the apocalyptic Seer proceeds to behold first in Heaven the prologues or preparations, as it were, of the various phases (not necessarily successive cycles) of the Messianic campaign, and thereupon, usually after an intercalated announcement or signal, witnesses and records their effective execution upon earth. All these, the foreplays in Heaven and the respective executions on earth, go on through the cycles of time under the symbolism of struggle and battle (for *militia est vita hominis super terram*), until they reach their climax in the triumph of the General Judgment, when the Seventh Angel shall have sounded his trumpet, and the choirs of Heaven shall thunder forth: "The kingdom of this world is become our Lord's and His Christ's, and He shall reign for ever and ever. Amen!" (Apoc. 11:15). For, in the words of St. Paul: "Christ must reign as King 'until all His enemies have been subjected,' and Death shall be the last enemy destroyed. . . . Thereupon will come the end when, after He has brought to naught every other dominion, power, and might, Christ delivers up the Kingdom to God and the Father. And when all things have become subject to Christ, then He the Son Himself [as Man] shall subordinate Himself to HIM who had subordinated all things to Him, so that God may be all in all" (I Cor. 15:23–28). Then in its most glorious sense will be realized the acclamation: *Christus vincit! Christus regnat! Christus imperat!*

Art. 6: THE SEALS AND THE TRUMPETS

426. Time Embraced.—The Book of the Seven Seals (Apoc. 6:1–17; 8:1) symbolizes the totality of the divine decrees for the Messianic restoration of the world. At the opening of each Seal, there is shown to the Seer of Patmos, as in a heavenly foreplay, some great factor which shall be operative in the Messianic world-conquest. But what is the value to be assigned to each individual Seal and Trumpet of the Book of Destinies? The seventh item of both series is undoubtedly the Second Advent with the Final Judgment and the beginning of eternity, signalized for the seventh Seal by the declaration that, upon its opening, "there was silence in Heaven, as it were for half an hour" (Apoc. 8:1), and for the seventh Trumpet by the announcement: "The kingdom of this world is become our Lord's and His Christ's, and He shall reign for ever and ever. Amen!" (Apoc. 11:15).

The sixth item of the Seals series in all probability indicates the terrific signs which shall immediately precede the Second Coming, since its wording is almost identical with Christ's in His great eschatological discourse: "The sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven (= the laws of nature) shall be moved" (Matt. 24:29; compare also Mark 13:24–25, and Luke 21:25–26).

427. Factors of World-Conquest.—For the rest, the Seals are fairly interpretable. The great factors in the reconquest of the world by Christ for God are the following: first, the preaching of the Gospel (1st Seal or White Horseman; cfr. Apoc. 19:11–16). This forms the positive and direct phase of the spread of God's Kingdom on earth. Next, as negative and indirect factors, there are enumerated the terrible natural and social calamities and miseries ever scourging mankind, war, famine, sickness (= the first three Maleficent Horsemen of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals). The inescapable irruptions of these tend to weaken the forces and break up the plans of the Powers of Evil, at the same time as they

punish them. Moreover, war, sickness, physical pain, floods, droughts, famines, fires, storms, great industrial accidents (all "acts of God"), tend to make men's minds turn to God, especially since they bring in their train the thought of death and the hereafter (= Hades, the gloomy netherworld, the Fourth Maleficent Horseman).[1] Conjoined with these factors operative on earth, are the prayers and merits of the just already in Heaven (= 5th Seal). Finally, as the last mercy and resort against the obstinate, come the terrific cosmic disturbances immediately preceding the Second Coming.

428. The Seven Trumpets.—The series of the Seven Trumpets (Apoc. 8:2–13; 9:1–21; 11:15) represents the *actualization of* the providential decrees *upon earth.* The first four form a group apparently indicating calamities and cataclysms in nature. Thus, they would seem to correspond to the Maleficent Horsemen—at least of the 3rd and 4th Seals. They are the apocalyptic Seer's symbolic description of what Christ Himself had announced as "tribulations," which would be of as frequent occurrence in the Messianic age as they were previously (thus excluding Millenarian phantasies), and were *not* to be taken as indications of the proximity of the Second Advent. "Now all these (= the horrors of Jerusalem's destruction) are [but] the beginnings of sorrows. . . . There shall [thereafter] be pestilences and famines and earthquakes in places" (Matt. 24:8–7; cfr. Luke 21:11). Land and sea, rivers and sky, all the earth, shall yet continue to afflict men with fire and flood, frost and storm, heat and cold, and all the other evils occurring from nature, showing forth the activity of the Maleficent Horsemen. *Pugnat pro eo orbis terrarum contra insensatos!* "For the creature, serving Thee, the Creator, is made fierce against the ungodly for their punishment—and abateth its violence for the benefit of them that trust in Thee" (Wis. 16:24).

[1] It would seem as though St. John in the Apocalypse deliberately planned to dispel any Jewish illusions of a "Millenium" free from pain and sorrow during the time the faithful should reign with the Messias upon earth. Yet the Apocalypse seems to have served as a base for the Chiliastic errors of not a few early Christians.

And, as the Wise Man said: "There are spirits created for vengeance, and in their fury do they lash their scourges. In the season of destruction [especially] shall they manifest their force . . . fire, hail, famine, and pestilence . . . the teeth of beasts, scorpions and serpents—all are avenging swords for the destruction of the ungodly" (Ecclus. 39:33–36).

429. Merciful Restriction.—Nevertheless, be it noted that the first four Trumpet plagues (although the Lamb's followers are not exempted from them) are restricted for their effectiveness to "one-third," that is to say, through divine mercy,[2] natural and cosmic disturbances (such as famines, droughts, floods, storms, hurricanes, shipwrecks, pestilences, etc.) shall afflict relatively minor fractions of the earth and a decided minority of mankind. A like restriction is made in the Sixth Trumpet for the consequences of war.

430. Fifth Trumpet.—As the first four Trumpets seem to correspond to the Four Maleficent Horsemen, so the fifth Trumpet brings in a striking contrast to the fifth Seal. As in the latter the souls of the saved are represented as giving aid from Heaven to their comrades still on earth, so in the fifth Trumpet, on the other hand, the infernal regions are shown spewing forth their diabolic hordes to hurt the allies of evil. The powers of darkness are contemptuously pictured as a plague of moral locusts, small, pigmy, without ability to "kill" men, but able only to "torment" them (Apoc. 9:5) with temptations and the stinging thoughts of vain remorse and despair. Perhaps all moral and social evils (as distinguished from physical) and miseries are to be comprehended under this Trumpet. Like small insects that cannot be banished, the demons bite and torture "the men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads" (Apoc. 9:4) with vain ambitions, goading them on, yet poisoning even their carnal pleasures with the prickings of conscience and doubt, thus driving them to despair, so that their victims

2 Perhaps Christ's word: "Unless those days had been shortened, no flesh would be saved; but, for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened" (Matt. 24:22), is a counterpart to this detail.

shall "desire death and shall not find it" (Apoc. 9:6). Perhaps also this Trumpet is the counterpart of Christ's prediction: "Then shall many be scandalized, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another" (Matt. 24:10–11). From the moral, spiritual, demoniac plague of the fifth Trumpet, the followers of the Lamb are apparently to remain immune, as its torment is confined to "only the men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads" (Apoc. 9:4). Amidst all miseries of physical evils which they perforce share with the wicked, God's servants and soldiers, as distinct from the devil's slaves, shall enjoy interior peace, right thinking, and tranquillity of conscience. The devil has no direct power over them to afflict them with anguish in their inmost souls.

431. Sixth Trumpet.—The sixth Trumpet, like the fifth, refers directly to mankind. But the plague here is not so much spiritual and moral (inflicted by the demons) as social (inflicted by men themselves upon each other). The Seer's vision here may possibly have been colored by an event at his time recent in history: the invasion of the barbarous cavalry of the Parthians into the ordered civilization of the Roman Empire.[3] The sixth Trumpet seems to correspond to the Red Horseman, and to indicate the wars, revolutions, and crimes of violence with which men shall afflict their fellows. As Christ had foretold: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom" (Matt. 24:7): "When you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified: these things must first come to pass: but the end is not yet presently" (Luke 21:9). All civil and national disorders are perhaps comprehended under this Trumpet, which is also the second *Vae.*

The seventh Trumpet of the series is not sounded immediately in the Seer's account, the *βιβλαρίδιον* introduction as well as the visions of the Temple Measuring and the Two Witnesses being intercalated. But the warning is uttered

[3] In 62, Volgesius, king of the Parthians, had vanquished the Roman forces at the Tigris, and for two centuries thereafter Asia Minor was groaning under the incubus of a threatening invasion from the Orient.

that "there shall be no delay" (Apoc. 10:6),[4] and that "in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound the Trumpet, the mystery of God (= the οἰκονομία of God's decrees for earth) shall be finished" (Apoc. 10:7). With the General Judgment, for which the seventh Trumpet stands (Apoc. 11:15), unchanging eternity shall begin.

432. The Two Witnesses.—As for the intercalations (Apoc. 11:1–13), the Measuring of the Temple, being restricted to the *Sanctum* only, indicates that during the process of the previously enumerated plagues the interior life of the Church shall continue uninterruptedly, even though its exterior shall be disturbed and defiled by the treading of the Gentiles. A considerable tradition has understood the Two Witnesses as real individuals (Elias, Henoch, Moses or Jeremias) who are to reappear on earth shortly before the General Judgment. But with equal, if not greater probability, they may be taken as denoting collectivities—as is the case with their counterparts, the Beast and the False Prophet (or Sea Beast). Thus, they would be symbolical concretizations of the Church's outward aspects as seen by the Gentiles or followers of the Dragon—namely, the preaching of the Gospel and its practice in the life of both clerics and laymen, or the administrative and intellectual manifestations of the Church. The persecution and death and resurrection of the Witnesses would then be cyclic (repeated from age to age), as the Church apparently destroyed would revive to flourish again, whilst her erstwhile violators would themselves come to naught. The term of the activity of the Two Witnesses, moreover, seems to coincide practically with that of the Reign of Christ—namely, extending over all history. Their defeat-periods shall be short as compared to those of their success.

[4] Χρόνος, in this text, is in all probability to be taken, not as metaphysical "time," but in its classical sense of "delay"—and the sentence in which it occurs is to be conjoined to the following verse.

Art. 7: THE BEAST AND THE FALSE PROPHET

433. Introduction to the "Little Book."—The vision of the Woman Bringing forth a Child (Apoc. 12) introduces the *βιβλαριδιον* or "Little Book" with a broad conspectus of the causes or basic origin of the time-long and world-wide conflict between Order and Chaos, Authority and Rebellion, Good and Evil. The latter is personalized in the Dragon, "that serpent of old who is called the devil and satan, who seduceth the whole world. And he was cast (out of Heaven) unto the earth" (Apoc. 12:9). And there, making a stand temporarily on the shifting sands of the sea of time he "proceeds to make war with the others of the Woman's seed—who keep the commandments of God and hold the testimony of (=faith in) Jesus Christ" (Apoc. 12:17–18).

434. Dragon Parodies.—For his warfare in the world, the Dragon makes use of earthly instruments, as God Himself had previously taken on human flesh to oppose and conquer him. The Dragon (whose fall was caused by his desiring to be "like to God" of his own power) becomes, indeed, the "Ape of God." As God had arrayed against the devil the "Lamb Slain," whom He had solemnly enthroned to receive the homage of all creation and had entrusted with the Book of World Destinies (Apoc. 4 and 5), so now the Dragon evokes out of the chaotic sea of temporal power and opportunism a hideous Beast (also "wounded unto death"), to which he gives "his own strength and throne and great power" (Apoc. 13:2, Greek). There follows a veritable parody on the inthronization of the Lamb. As all creation gave divine honor to the Lamb (Christ) at His inthronization in Heaven, so now "all the earth was in admiration after the Beast. And they adored the Dragon which gave power to the Beast. And they adored the Beast, saying: 'Who is like to the Beast?' [compare the *Quis ut Deus?* of Michael, the Dragon's vanquisher] and 'Who shall be able to fight against him?'" (Apoc. 13:4). Indeed, as Christ rode forth as the White Horseman, "having conquered and still to conquer" (Apoc. 6:3), so now it is given by the

Dragon to the antichristian Beast "to make war upon the sanctified and to overcome them" (physically, Apoc. 13:7) and "to kill them" (Apoc. 11:7). As the followers of the Lamb are marked upon their foreheads (Apoc. 7:3; 14:1), so also the antichristian Beast "shall make all . . . to have a character in their right hands or on their foreheads" (Apoc. 13:16). As from the mouth of the White Horseman there "proceedeth a sharp two-edged sword" (Apoc. 19:15) of keen clean reasoning and effective evangelization, so to the Beast there is given "a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies" (Apoc. 13:5–6). To the inthroned Lamb "benediction and honor and glory and power" are given "for ever and ever" (Apoc. 5:13): but to the Beast power is given by the Dragon to act only for "two and forty months," or for the comparatively brief duration of the present world. Thus, the two great groupings, of Good and Evil respectively, are juxtaposed in antithesis—the one on the standpoint of the sands of the sea (changing time), the other on "Mount Sion," (stable eternity), though each confronts the other on earth.

435. Cross-Section of 2nd Century.—Now, as has already been remarked, in the "Little Book" and with the Vials especially, St. John's message is expressed in symbolic terms of the present. From the ideal age-long and worldwide perspective of the Seals and Trumpets, the Seer turns to focus his vision more particularly upon the immediate and proximate circumstances and eventualities of the Church, its circumstances and vicissitudes in the second century, which would be realized in the experience of that generation of his Asia Minor congregations. As previously the whole length of history was envisaged, so now a cross-section thereof is given, taken from the events of the near future of the decadent Roman Empire, especially in its dealings with the Church during the second and third centuries. The world-history of this period, then, furnishes the key to the interpretation of the "Little Book."

436. Yet Type of Future Repetitions.—Although local-temporal in its symbolic terminology, nevertheless the mes-

sage of the "Little Book" has also an age-long and world-wide value. For, "history repeats itself" in accidentally changed but substantially identical vicissitudes. The symbolic account of the conflict between the decadent Roman Empire and the Church is but one, and the first, of an indefinite number of succeeding cycles in which relatively the same encounter with the same eventualities will take place. Although the first Beast (which represents the Roman imperial power) will be vanquished and slain, nevertheless his "wound unto death" will be "healed" (Apoc. 13:2), and other Beasts, more or less varied *replicas of the first*, will appear each in turn, similarly to make war upon the Lamb and His followers during "two and forty months" ($42 = 6 \times 7$), the totality of the operation periods of imperfection ($6 = 7 - 1$).

437. First Beast is Roman Empire.—Thus, the first antichristian Beast is primarily representative of the Roman imperial power in its relationship to the Church during the era of persecutions. Under Augustus, the Empire had reached the apogee of earthly glory. Particularly in the Asiatic provinces, the Emperor was acclaimed as "Saviour, Son of God, God, Saviour of the world." In the second century, this developed into a regular imperial cult with priests and altars and feast-days. And about this time, too, the worship of the deified Emperor, in Asia Minor at least, was made a test. Christians were asked to worship with sacrifices the image of the Emperor represented in the guise of a god, as Pliny the proconsul of Bythinia reports to his master, the Emperor Trajan ("imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, thure ac vino supplicarent," *Ep. xcvi*). Under Decius and Diocletian, the cult of the Emperor became *the* official religious system of the Empire. Subjection to the Emperor as civil head of the State and worship of him as a god were practically fused, so that a Christian refusing to sacrifice to the Emperor became suspect of disloyalty to the Empire, and was adjudged guilty of *lèse majésté*, which was punishable by death and confiscation of his possessions. Through such

tests, the ordinary routine of life and business became almost impossible for Christians, so that indeed "no man might buy or sell but he that hath the character of the Beast" (Apoc. 13:8). This may be a reference to the *libelli* ("permits" or "certificates of patriotism"), which were later issued to apostatizing Christians (the *libellati*) by the imperial authorities. Small wonder that Christians, harassed and hounded in every manner, became a *lucifuga gens* (as they were taunted with being) and hid in the catacombs!

438. State and Church.—Whilst the apocalyptic Seer's words in this section had a special and direct value of warning and consolation for the Asia Minor readers of his time, yet the observant student will note immediately that similar conditions and events may be verified in every succeeding cycle of history. Time and again has the cult of the State been set up as supreme: oldest and tritest of the calumnies hurled at the followers of the Lamb is that they are unpatriotic. Civil society or the State is, after the Church, the most necessary, largest, and most powerful grouping or organization of mankind. Therefore, the Dragon has again and again seized upon it to turn it into an antichristian Beast to be fanatically worshiped as the be-all and end-all of human existence. Hence, in the apocalyptic Seer's vision, the State is represented and prophesied as the foremost and commonest opponent of the Lamb and His Church.[1] Through the wily scheming of the Ancient Enemy, Christians will continually be jockeyed into a position where they will perforce have to choose between serving God or serving a State that diabolically identifies itself with God.[2] Thus, already

[1] It is not implied here that the State is of its nature necessarily opposed to the Church. Many a time in history has the State been an excellent collaborator with the Church to the advantage of both organizations. Indeed, the truly Christian State may be figured as one of the Two Witnesses (Apoc. 11: 3–4), since the "two olive trees and the two candlesticks that stand before the Lord of earth" refer directly to Jesus the highpriest and Zorobabel the "head of the captives," each respectively the religious and the civil head of the restored Jews, for whose welfare they sincerely and successfully coöperated (Zach. 4: 2–14).

[2] In proportion as the United States has intensified federalization, there have arisen clouds—as yet only "like a man's hand," it is true—

ages ago were the followers of the Lamb-King forewarned, under the type of the decadent Roman Empire, that *State-worship* would ever be the *first means* employed by the Dragon to cripple and destroy, if possible, the worship of God.

439. The False Prophet.—Cheek by jowl with the first antichristian Beast, this page of the Apocalypse draws also the picture of another: the Beast from the Land, which has "two horns, like a Lamb—but speaks as a Dragon" (Apoc. 13:12), and "carries out the power of the former Beast in its sight, causing the earth and them that dwell therein to adore the First Beast . . ." (Apoc. 13:11–16). As, farther on, the Seer identifies this second or Land-Beast with the False Prophet (Apoc. 16:13; 19:20; 20:10), to avoid confusion it shall be here immediately designated as "the False Prophet"—the reference being unmistakably to Christ's warning: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves!" (Matt. 7:15).

440. False Religion or Philosophy.—As the first or Sea-Beast is the symbolization of political force or State-cult in opposition to the Kingdom of God, so the False Prophet or Land-Beast is fittingly representative of a power of the religious or intellectual order, false theology and false philosophy or heresy and pseudo-science (note the "two horns") opposing the Church. The direct prophetic reference here is most probably to the new religio-philosophic system which, arising upon the ruins of crass paganism, was, with the reasonings of new philosophies and religious cults as well as with the trickery and magic of secret societies and "mys-

threatening the growth and life of the Church. The chauvinistic artificial stimulation of "patriotism" in recent years has too often assumed an attitude of challenge to the Church. An organization, frankly styling itself an "Invisible Empire," claims a monopoly of "100% Americanism"—and has as its outstanding characteristic antagonism to the Church. Patriotic observances are gradually being made to take on the appearance of and to replace religious functions. In Russia and Mexico the same symptoms are being manifested in a more advanced and clearer degree of development, making unmistakable the realization of the Apocalypse's predictions for the contemporary cycle.

teries," to canonize, rationally dogmatize and approve of the cult of the Emperors.

The first Beast was pictured as arising from the sea (Apoc. 13:1), because State-worship makes no claim to metaphysical or unchanging principles, being based upon ever-fluctuating opportunism and the expediency of the here-and-now. False thought, on the other hand, whether religious, philosophic or scientific, makes a great claim of being based upon stable, fixed, rational, even eternal principles, and energetically disclaims mere force—that "might is right." It is indeed a "false prophet," claiming to speak in the name of God but in reality pronouncing its own imaginations. Indeed, when the False Prophet or Land-Beast speaks, he speaks "as a Dragon," for, when examined and analyzed, his messages show that he is an antichrist. For he "dissolveth Jesus"—that is to say, denies Christ's divinity or makes Him self-contradictory.

441. False Religion and State-Worship.—An outstanding characteristic of the False Prophet is his function of thurifer and auxiliary to the first Beast or State-worship. Most stable heresies have degenerated quickly into State churches, supporting the civil rulers in their nefarious plans against Christ's Kingdom, often having their heads identical with those of the States, backing up the execution of the dictum: *cuius regio eius et religio.* Similarly, pseudo-science strongly emphasizes its utility to the State; it is an auxiliary to State-worship by justifying the invasion by the State of the rights of man on the plea of scientific betterment of his lot. False philosophy often definitely apotheosizes the State by representing it as the *summum bonum,* only allowing the citizens existence for the sake of the State. False science, too, whilst ridiculing the miracles of Christ, sets forth the prodigies of material discoveries and inventions—even to "making fire come down from heaven"[3]—as "signs" wrought by the Beast, and uses them as titles to justify its

[3] One cannot help thinking here of the modern marvels of electricity, which in cheap popularizations are often quoted with a view to sneer at or deny the achievements of Christianity.

claim to be followed in all its teachings, even in the realm of religion. And then in its pronunciamentos put forth as purely philosophic or scientific conclusions, apparently as abstract as mathematics, with an air of haughty indifference to and superiority over all "religionists," it aims covertly to undermine the true dignity of man, to obscure his real origin and the purpose of his life.

The opposing forces having thus been confronted in antithesis—the Dragon with the Beast and False Prophet against the Lamb with the Two Witnesses—the Seer proceeds in the Seven Vials to give the effect of the Seal factors and Trumpet executions for the cycle of the late Roman Empire—a type for future cycles also.

Art. 8: THE THREE FLYING ANGELS

442. The Woman and Her Child.—In the Vision of the Woman and the Child (Apoc. 12), the apocalyptic Seer gave a succinct summary of the relative positions and history of the factors in the conflict of Good and Evil, Order and Disorder, Conformity and Rebellion. At the same time in that chapter, St. John set up a literary monument to her who had mystically been given to him as his Mother by the last testament of Christ dying upon the cross. For to his symbolic representation of the Church he unmistakably gave the features, the lineaments of Mary—and, what is more, not of Mary at Bethlehem, but of Mary, the sorrow-filled Mother on Calvary. For only there was she "travailing in birth, and in pain to be delivered" (Apoc. 12:2), not indeed of the personal Christ, but of "the rest of her seed—those who keep God's commandments and hold the testimony [= doctrine] of Christ Jesus" (Apoc. 12:17). Well had St. John understood whom he represented when he was given to Mary in place of her Divine Son—the Elder Brother (Rom. 8:29; I Cor. 9:5) of all faithful Christians.

443. The Dragon Group.—Next the Seer develops some details of the Vision of the Woman and her Child. The

conflict between her and the Dragon, so summarily sketched before, will now be expatiated more in detail. The actors therein will be described first of all. Thus, the Dragon is detailed into the Sea-Beast and the False Prophet (Apoc. 12:18—13:18), together with their deluded followers. These form a group or encampment, as it were, "upon the sand of the sea" (Apoc. 12:18).

444. The Lamb and His Followers.—On the opposite side, "upon Mount Sion," is arrayed as a contrasting camp the Lamb "and with Him 144,000" (Apoc. 14:1). Thus, the scene of the "Little Book" (of which all this forms the content) is laid rather upon earth than in Heaven,—as befits a prophecy concerned primarily with the Church Militant, although at least certain of the Lamb's followers, "the first-fruits to God and to the Lamb" (Apoc. 14:4), are pictured as already enjoying heavenly bliss.

445. Anticipations of Conflict.—Thus, the two groups of forces are set in opposition. But the situation is static: the battle itself has not yet begun. And in the lull, as it were, before the movement begins (the movement itself being given in the Vision of the Seven Vials), the Seer preliminarily and anticipatively sketches the main phases and results of the coming battle in an intercalated series of brief vision-fragments enumerating seven persons (Apoc. 14:6–20). These elements correspond remarkably with those of the earlier seven-series, and in interpreting them one should be guided by this parallel. Moreover, these vision-fragments (like all of the Little Book, which was "open," Apoc. 10:8) are clearer, more definite than their correspondents in the Seal and Trumpet series, and are indeed almost explanations thereof.

446. The Three Flying Angels.—In this subsection, the first group consists of three units, and not of four as in the earlier seven-series. The Three Flying Angels (Apoc. 14:6–9) are the counterpart of the Four Horsemen of Apoc. 6:1–8. Both series symbolize the progress and providential manner of the "restoration of all things in Christ," the reëstablishment of creation in its primevally decreed rela-

tionship to God. In both, the first and, so to say, positive factor is the preaching of the Gospel, the teaching of the verities of religion to mankind. In the Seals series, this phase is indicated by the first (the White or Beneficent) Horseman, who wears the features of the glorified Christ Himself ("white horse," "crown," "having conquered and that He might conquer yet more"). The bow with its far-flying arrows is the parallel to the "two-edged sword coming forth from His mouth" (Apoc. 1:16; 19:15, 19) with which Christ combats the Nicolaites (Apoc. 2:16). Both signify the announcement of the Gospel message—the primary, principal, direct and positive means by which mankind is to be delivered from the delusions of Satan and brought back to God.

447. First Flying Angel.—Now, under the image of the first Flying Angel, this same chief phase is more clearly expressed (Apoc. 14:6–7):

> And I saw another Angel flying along the zenith of heaven, having an eternal gospel (= message) to announce to those dwelling upon the earth, and to every nation and tribe and tongue and people, crying with a great voice: "Revere God and give Him glory: For the hour of His judgment is come—and prostrate yourselves before (= adore) Him who made heaven and earth, the sea and the fountains of water!"

Thus, the Seer summarizes the content of Christian doctrine and preaching. Reduced to its simplest essentials it is: Adore God, the world's Creator—and not the Beast who vaunts himself like to God. This is "an eternal gospel,"[1] a message or statement of basic truth, valid for all time. Taking "gospel" more precisely in the sense of the revelation given by Christ in the New Testament, the qualification "eternal" is applied thereto to denote its permanence to the end of time and beyond, in distinction from the Old Testament given to Moses, whose peculiar prescriptions were to pass and be supplanted by the new and everlasting Testament sealed with Christ's blood. But the primary value here

[1] The definite article is not found before "gospel" in the Greek. The King James version and even the Douai-Challoner has erroneously inserted it here.

of the qualification "eternal" is: to denote the everlasting, time-and-eternity value of Christian principles, in contrast with the mere temporal here-and-now opportunism of worldly principles propounded by the Beast, which apply at best only for "two-and-forty months" (Apoc. 13:5), the duration of time, and have for effect that those who follow them may "buy and sell" (Apoc. 13:17). On the contrary, "the word of the Lord," says St. Peter (I Pet. 1:25), "remaineth unto eternity—and this is the word (= message) that has been announced to you."

448. Not a New Revelation.—There is not the slightest indication that the apocalyptic Seer here has in mind a written message, nor anything supplementary to Christian doctrine as already revealed and being announced to the world by the "witnesses" of Christ.[2] On the contrary, the content of the first Flying Angel's "eternal glad-tidings" is given immediately afterwards when he "cries aloud: 'Adore God,' etc."

The Mosaic or Old Testament revelation was given primarily and almost exclusively to and for the Jews. Contrariwise, God's final and everlasting message is to be announced to "every nation and tribe and tongue and people." Hence also its universal and simple character as stated summarily here. It is the relationship of creature to Creator, which basically and most broadly demands that men recognize and adore God.

449. The "Judgment" Significance.—As a motive more particularly urging the acceptance of his message, the Angel assigns the fact that "the hour of God's judgment is come." This does not mean the Final Judgment of the world (before

2 The group styling itself "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," popularly known as Mormons, claims that Apoc. 14:6 is a prophecy foretelling the future giving of the Book of Mormon. According to their view, the Gospel of Christ was valid for a time only—that is to say, until "*the* eternal Gospel" should be given to the world through Joseph Smith, Jr., in his *Book of Mormon*, considered by the Mormons as a divine revelation. Obviously, if St. John here had any future written Gospel in mind, it would have been his own, the Fourth Gospel, which he was to write some years after penning the Apocalypse. The Joachimites also based their claim of a new revelation upon this text.

the coming of which many generations should yet die), but simply: the hour is at hand for every man to judge himself, to decide whether he will be for God or with the Beast. In this sense the Incarnation of Christ already was a "judgment," and the preaching of Christianity in every generation of time is a "judgment," according to St. John's own definition in the words of Christ: "This is the judgment: that the Light is come into the world, and men loved Darkness rather than the Light . . . He that doth not believe in the Name (= religion or teaching) of the only begotten Son of God, is already judged" (John 3:18–19).

Connected with the above is another sense also in which "the hour of judgment" would be spoken of as at hand. "Judgment," then, would be taken for each of the divers national, social, and even natural crises, upheavals, and disturbances (like wars, revolutions, persecutions, famines, pestilences, earthquakes, floods, etc.) by means of which God from century to century and place to place rouses men from the lethargy of routine and makes them realize that the goods of this world are not as stable and secure as the antichristian Beast has deluded them into believing. And when the things of this world fail them, men's thoughts turn, perhaps late and reluctantly, to the things above, the "treasures in Heaven, where neither rust nor moth consume, nor thieves break through and steal" (Matt. 6:20). It is with "judgments" of this kind that the predictions of the Apocalypse are most frequently concerned;[3] and they are the chief content of the dire symbols of the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials. Local-temporally, the Seer here exhorts men to turn to God in view of the calamities—both the persecutions of the Christians and the political upheavels—about to burst upon the Roman Empire in the near future.

[3] Whilst the Last Judgment is never lost sight of in the Apocalypse as marking definitely the victory of Good over Evil, yet the only place where it is described more at length is Apoc. 20:11–15. Even Apoc. 20:4–6 is rather a reference to the particular judgment of the just at death, or the intercessory-judging function of the same in time as outlined in Apoc. 6:9–10. "How long, O Lord . . . dost Thou not judge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

450. The Second Flying Angel.—The latter phase—namely, the destruction of the pagan Roman Empire primarily, and the parallel destruction cyclically in all future history of any and every similar array or organization of forces hostile to God and His Christ—forms the topic of the next vision (Apoc. 14:8):

> And another, a second Angel followed [him] crying: "She is fallen, is fallen! Babylon the Great! she who made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornications."

Already, the Seer briefly anticipates the end of the various conflicts of the two groups of powers previously pictured as arrayed against each other. The group of the Beast shall suffer destruction. In this section it is more especially the *temporal, earthly* fate of the forces hostile to God, as an organization or group, that is envisaged. This is a brief anticipatory résumé of the fall of "Babylon" described at greater length in Apoc. 18—the Rome-Babylon "drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus . . . having a golden cup in her hand, full of the abomination and filthiness of her fornication" (Apoc. 17:4, 6), from which "all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornications" (Apoc. 18:3). This terminology refers to both the idolatry (called "fornication" in Old Testament language) and the dissolute morals of the late pagan Roman Empire.

451. Relation to Maleficent Horsemen.—This second Flying Angel corresponds to the three (with Hades, four) Maleficent Horsemen, the Red, Black, and Greenish of the second, third, and fourth Seals (Apoc. 6:3–8): there it was given to the Red Horseman "that he should take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another," whilst the Black significantly bore the scales of famine and penury, and the Greenish Horseman (or Death) followed them both as the mortality consequent upon social upheavels and calamities of Nature. The second Flying Angel, like the Maleficent Horsemen, confines its significance to temporal and physical woes, and these as afflicting primarily not the individual but

the groups or agglomerations of men leagued under the tyranny of the Beast.

452. The Third Flying Angel.—The third Flying Angel is also a portent of woe. But it is not the woe and destruction of antichristian society in time and on earth, but the *eternal misery and punishment of the individual followers* of the Beast in hell, which is foretold and threatened (Apoc. 14:9–11):

> And another, a third Angel followed them crying with a loud voice: "If any man worship the Beast and his image, and accept his mark on his forehead or his hand—he too shall drink of the wine of God's fury which has been poured unmixed in the cup of His wrath, and he shall be tormented with fire and sulphur in the sight of the holy angels and of the Lamb. The smoke of the torment of such as these shall rise up for ages and ages, and they shall have no rest either day or night—those who worship the Beast or his image, and anyone who has received the imprint of his name."

This third Flying Angel seems to be the counterpart of what is really the fourth Maleficent Horseman (gloomy Hades, the netherworld), who rides upon the crupper of Death, or follows him (Apoc. 6:8). Here is a plain case of where the Seer in these later, more advanced visions explains and expands obscure details of the earlier ones. The "smoke of torment rising up forever" and the "lack of rest either day or night" is the terrific infernal parallel to the eventual everlasting blissful activity of the God-conforming elements of earth and mankind, who in Heaven "rest not day nor night, crying: 'Holy! holy! holy! Lord, God Almighty, the Was, and Is, and Is to Come!' " (Apoc. 4:8). In that life and endless joyful adoration, may it be granted the readers of this and its writer to share, through the potent intercession of her who is the Mother both of them and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God, "the blessed and only Mighty, King of kings and Lord of lords, who alone hath immortality and inhabiteth light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen or can see, to whom be honor and empire everlasting. Amen."

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Commented on by the Fathers in the Roman Breviary

Old Testament	Commentator	Where found
Genesis: 5, 6	Ambrose	Sexagesima Sunday
12	Ambrose	Quinquagesima Sunday
I Kings	Gregory	Feria II after Trinity
II Kings: 12	Ambrose	VI after Pentecost
III Kings: 1	Augustine	VII after Pentecost
9	Augustine	VIII after Pentecost
IV Kings: 1	Augustine	IX after Pentecost
9	John Chrysostom	X after Pentecost
Judith	Ambrose	IV of September
Esther	Ambrose	V of September
Psalms: 33	Basil	V of November
43	John Chrysostom	IV of October
118	Ambrose	Com. One Martyr, II Place
	Ambrose	I of August
186	Augustine	Com. of Apostles, II Place
Eccles: 1	John Chrysostom	II of August
Canticle of Canticles	Bernard	Holy Name
Isaias: 11	Jerome	II of Advent
38	Jerome	XI after Pentecost
Ezechiel	Gregory	Com. of Evangelists
	Gregory	I of November
	Jerome	II of November

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
MATTHEW:		
1 : 1–16	John Damascene	August 16
	Jerome	September 8
1 : 18–21	Jerome	December 24
2 : 1–12	Ambrose	January 11
	Gregory	January 6-9
	Jerome	January 10
	John Chrysostom	January 12

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
MATTHEW—*Cont.*		
2 : 13–18	Jerome	December 28
2 : 19–23	Jerome	January 15
4 : 1–11	Gregory	I of Lent
4 : 18–22	Gregory	November 30
5 : 1–12	Augustine	June 5; Nov. 1, 3, 5–8
5 : 13–19	Ambrose	Com. of Doctors
	Bede	May 27
	Ephrem	June 18
	Gregory	March 12
	Hilary	Com. of Doctors, II Place
	Isidore	April 4
	Jerome	September 30
	John Chrysostom	Com. of Doctors, III Place
5 : 20–24	Augustine	V after Pentecost
5 : 43–48	Jerome	July 12
	Jerome	Feria VI after Quinquagesima
6 : 16–21	Augustine	Ash Wednesday
6 : 24–33	Augustine	XIV after Pentecost
	Augustine	August 7
7 : 15–21	Hilary	VII after Pentecost
8 : 1–13	Jerome	III after Epiphany
8 : 5–13	Augustine	Quinquagesima Sunday
8 : 23–27	Jerome	IV after Epiphany
9 : 1– 8	Peter Chrysologus	XVIII after Pentecost
9 : 9–13	Jerome	September 21
9 : 18–26	Jerome	XXIII after Pentecost
10 : 16–22	John Chrysostom	June 11, 30
10 : 23–28	Athanasius	March 18
10 : 26–33	Hilary	Com. of One Martyr, IV Place
10 : 28–33	Ireneus	June 28
10 : 34–42	Hilary	Com. of One Martyr, III Place
11 : 2–10	Gregory	II of Advent
11 : 25–30	Augustine	Com. of Abbots, II Place
12 : 35–40	Gregory	Com. of Confessors not Pontiffs
12 : 38–50	Ambrose	Feria IV after I of Lent
12 : 46–50	Gregory	July 10
13 : 24–30	Augustine	V after Epiphany
13 : 31–35	Jerome	VI after Epiphany
13 : 44–52	Gregory	Com. of Widows
14 : 22–33	Jerome	July 6
15 : 1–20	Jerome	Feria IV after III of Lent
15 : 21–28	Jerome	Feria V after I of Lent
16 : 13–19	Augustine	August 1
	Hilary	January 18
	Jerome	June 29
	Leo	February 22, April 11

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
MATTHEW—*Cont.*		
16 : 24–27	Gregory	Com. of One Martyr, II Place
	Gregory	September 17
17 : 1– 9	John Chrysostom	August 6
	Leo	Sabbato after I of Lent
	Leo	II of Lent
18 : 1– 5	John Chrysostom	August 27
18 : 1–10	Hilary	May 8, October 2
	Jerome	September 29
	John Chrysostom	May 15
18 : 15–22	Augustine	III of Lent
18 : 23–35	Jerome	XXI after Pentecost
19 : 3–12	John Chrysostom	Com. of Virgin, III Place
19 : 13–21	John Chrysostom	July 20
19 : 27–29	Bede	July 4
	Bede	Com. of Apostles, II Place
	Bede	Com. of Abbots, III Place
	Jerome	Com. of Apostles
20 : 1–16	Gregory	Septuagesima Sunday
20 : 17–28	Ambrose	Feria IV after II of Lent
20 : 20–23	Jerome	May 6
	John Chrysostom	July 25
21 : 1– 9	Ambrose	Palm Sunday
21 : 10–17	Bede	Feria III after I of Lent
21 : 33–46	Ambrose	Feria VI after II of Lent
22 : 1–14	Gregory	September 18
	Gregory	XIX after Pentecost
22 : 15–21	Hilary	XXII after Pentecost
22 : 29–40	John Chrysostom	June 21
22 : 34–46	John Chrysostom	March 8
	John Chrysostom	XVII after Pentecost
23 : 1–12	Jerome	Feria III after II of Lent
23 : 34–39	Jerome	August 3, December 26
24 : 3–13	Hilary	September 19
24 : 15–35	Jerome	XXIV after Pentecost
24 : 42–47	Hilary	November 23
	Hilary	Com. of Confessors Pontiffs, II Place
25 : 1–13	Gregory	Com. of Virgins
	John Chrysostom	November 22
25 : 14–23	Gregory	Com. of Confessors Pontiffs
25 : 31–46	Augustine	Feria II after I of Lent
28 : 16–20	Jerome	Feria VI after Easter
28 : 18–20	Gregory Nazianzenus	I after Pentecost

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
MARK:		
6 : 17–29	Augustine	August 29
6 : 47–56	Bede	Sabbato after Quinquagesima
7 : 31–37	Gregory	XI after Pentecost
8 : 1– 9	Augustine	VI after Pentecost
9 : 16–28	Bede	Feria IV after III of September
10 : 15–21	Augustine	July 5
11 : 22–24	Bede	November 17
16 : 1– 7	Gregory	Easter Sunday
16 : 14–20	Gregory	Feria VI, Sabbato, after Ascension Thursday
	Gregory	Feria II, III, IV, V after I Sunday after Ascension
	Gregory	December 3
16 : 15–18	Gregory	August 8
LUKE:		
1 : 5–17	Ambrose	June 23
1 : 26–28	Bernard	December 10
	Epiphanius	December 15
	Germanus	December 8
	Sophronius	December 9, 14
	Thrasius	December 12
1 : 26–31	Bernard	February 11
1 : 26–38	Ambrose	Feria IV after III of Advent
	Bernard	October 7
	Peter Chrysologus	September 12
1 : 39–47	Ambrose	Feria VI after III of Advent
1 : 57–68	Ambrose	June 24, 27
2 : 1–14	Gregory	December 25
2 : 15–20	Ambrose	December 25, 30
2 : 21	Ambrose	January 1
	Bernard	Holy Name
2 : 22–32	Ambrose	February 2
2 : 33–40	Ambrose	Sunday in Octave of Christmas
2 : 45–52	Ambrose	I after Epiphany
	Bernard	Holy Family
3 : 1– 6	Gregory	Sabbato after III of Advent
	Gregory	IV of Advent
3 : 21–23	Augustine, etc.	St. Joseph Solemnity and Octave
4 : 23–30	Ambrose	Feria II after III of Lent
4 : 38–44	Ambrose	Feria V after III of Lent
	Ambrose	Sabbato after Pentecost
5 : 17–26	Ambrose	Feria VI after Pentecost
6 : 6–11	Peter Chrysologus	March 27

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
LUKE—*Cont.*		
6 : 17–23	Ambrose	Com. of Several Martyrs, II Place
7 : 11–16	Ambrose	Feria V after IV of Lent
	Augustine	May 4
7 : 36–50	Gregory	Feria V after Passion Sunday
8 : 4–15	Gregory	Sexagesima Sunday
9 : 1– 6	Ambrose	Feria V after Pentecost
	Bonaventure	March 28
10 : 1– 9	Gregory	Com. of Evangelists
11 : 5–13	Ambrose	Feria II after V after Easter
11 : 14–28	Bede	III of Lent
11 : 27–28	Bede	Com. of Feasts of B. M. V.
12 : 1– 9	Bede	Com. of Several Martyrs, III Place
12 : 2– 8	John Chrysostom	April 14
12 : 32–34	Bede	Com. of Confessors not Pontiffs, II Place
12 : 35–40	Gregory	December 31
14 : 26–33	Gregory	Com. of One Martyr
15 : 11–32	Ambrose	Sabbato after II of Lent
16 : 19–31	Gregory	Feria V after II of Lent
18 : 31–43	Gregory	Quinquagesima Sunday
19 : 1–10	Ambrose, etc.	Com. of Dedication of a Church and Octave
21 : 9–19	Gregory	Com. of Several Martyrs
21 : 25–33	Gregory	I of Advent
24 : 13–35	Gregory	Feria II after Easter
24 : 36–47	Ambrose	Feria III after Easter
JOHN:		
1 : 1–14	Augustine	December 25
1 : 19–28	Gregory	III of Advent
1 : 29–34	Augustine	January 13
2 : 1–11	Augustine	II after Epiphany
2 : 13–25	Augustine	Feria II after IV of Lent
3 : 1–15	Augustine	May 3
3 : 16–21	Augustine	Feria II after Pentecost
4 : 5–42	Augustine	Feria VI after III of Lent
4 : 46–53	Gregory	May 12
5 : 1–15	Augustine	Feria VI after I of Lent
6 : 1–15	Augustine	IV of Lent
6 : 44–52	Augustine	Feria IV after Pentecost
7 : 1–13	Augustine	Feria III after Passion Sunday
7 : 14–31	Augustine	Feria III after IV of Lent
7 : 32–39	Augustine	Feria II after Passion Sunday
8 : 1–11	Augustine	Sabbato after III of Lent

New Testament	Commentator	Where found
JOHN—*Cont.*		
8 : 12–20	Augustine	Sabbato after IV of Lent
8 : 21–29	Augustine	Feria II after II of Lent
8 : 46–59	Gregory	Passion Sunday
9 : 1–38	Augustine	Feria IV after IV of Lent
10 : 1–10	Augustine	Feria III after Pentecost
10 : 11–16	Gregory	II after Easter
	John Chrysostom	December 29
10 : 22–38	Augustine	Feria IV after Passion Sunday
11 : 1–45	Augustine	Feria VI after IV of Lent
11 : 47–54	Augustine	Feria VI after Passion Sunday
12 : 1– 9	Augustine	Feria II after Palm Sunday
12 : 10–36	Augustine	Sabbato after Passion Sunday
12 : 24–26	Augustine	February 1
14 : 1–14	Augustine	May 1
14 : 15–21	Augustine	Vigil of Pentecost
14 : 23–31	Gregory	Pentecost
15 : 1– 7	Augustine	Com. of Several Martyrs T. P.
15 : 12–26	Gregory	Com. of Vigils of Apostles
15 : 26–27	Augustine	I after Ascension
16 : 1– 4	Augustine	I after Ascension
16 : 5–14	Augustine	IV after Easter
16 : 16–22	Augustine	III after Easter
16 : 23–30	Augustine	V after Easter
17 : 1–11	Augustine	Vigil of Ascension
19 : 25–27	Augustine	Our Lady of Sorrows, Passion Week
20 : 1– 9	Gregory	Sabbato after Easter
20 : 11–18	Gregory	Feria V after Easter
20 : 24–29	Gregory	December 21
20 : 19–31	Gregory	Pentecost
21 : 1–14	Gregory	Feria IV after Easter
21 : 19–24	Augustine	December 27
GALATIANS:	Augustine	III after Epiphany

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